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OCTOBER, 1941

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
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SOCIAL EDUCATION

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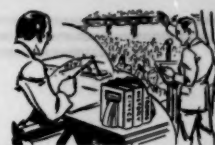


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Editor's Page

[We present this month statements on two aspects of civic education. The first, by Professor Wilson of Harvard University, is concerned with materials and activities for pupils; it was presented at a session of the American Political Science Association at Chicago.]

From Thought to Action

A CONTINUING problem in the United States, important both to the national defense and to individual welfare, is the production of a steady stream of good citizens. In the production of this civic manpower, there are a number of bottlenecks, and the most troublesome of these seems to be the translation of thought into action. We know that an informed citizenry is essential to our state, but effective only as the information is carried into civic behavior. Unused knowledge is powerless; action without knowledge is chaos; but knowledge in action is both power and wisdom.

OUR civic teaching in the schools needs to present to pupils a goal and vision worth their strenuous support. Inherent in democracy is a faith, but we have not, for the great masses of men, made that faith articulate. We have assumed that goals were self-demonstrative, and have spent too much of our time teaching about the means toward ends rather than about the ends themselves. Much of the material in our present civics instruction is more appropriate for adult education; the schools should concern themselves first with setting the direction of civic thought. In one sense, it is more of political theory and, if neces-

sary, less of governmental detail which is needed in our courses. Our wild scrambling today for treatments of democracy written for pupils is indicative of what has been a serious lack in our instruction.

In presenting to pupils a positive and challenging democratic faith, we can not deal in abstractions alone. Neither ought we to confuse democratic ends with means, techniques with purposes, or to describe an ephemeral democratic code. For young people we have to capture the spirit of democracy in concrete terms, free from sentimentality. We need illustrative snapshots of democracy in action, dramatic episodes and parables which epitomize a faith. Probably we need again in schools, especially for adolescents, biographical materials born neither of Victorian authors nor of muckrakers. Certainly we need concrete, authentic cases descriptive of the values of the civil liberties such as those presently to appear in a bulletin of the National Council for the Social Studies. Great documents of our tradition need to be selected and edited for pupils' use. To reveal a civic faith to pupils through such means is to create a motive which will go far toward lifting inert thought into driving force.

BUT in order to bridge more effectively the gap between school training and the donning of the toga, we need to create a comprehensive system of apprenticeship in citizenship. We need to provide for pupils practice experiences in the kind of civic action society needs.

Much of the program of community study, now widely and wisely emphasized in

the schools, lends itself to the provision of civic apprenticeship for pupils. Bicycle surveys culminating in the development of public opinion in support of a new code for riders such as that conducted by pupils in Greeley, Colorado; "get-out-the-vote" campaigns and housing surveys such as conducted by pupils in Quincy, Illinois; such public health campaigns as that carried on by pupils in Radford, Virginia; a community-beautification program like that of the schools of Ellerbe, North Carolina; the development of such a community institution as the Tulip Festival in Holland, Michigan, in which pupils regularly engage—these are valuable experiences in community living and constructive aids in the making of citizens.

There are other apprenticeship opportunities, especially for boys and girls who give promise of capacity for leadership. It should be possible to arrange for a few boys and girls to give several hours service each week as apprentices of the executive agents and officials of local men's clubs and women's clubs. Such experiences could be windows of insight into the general process of group management and community living. The League of Women Voters and the Municipal League ought to be interested in giving pupils practice in such campaigns and studies as they locally carry on. Some pupils could profitably help plan as well as carry through campaigns in behalf of United Charities and Community Chest. A youth group affiliated with the Foreign Policy Association or any other public agency for the formation of group opinion, or a joint adult-young people's forum are possible and not difficult to arrange. Promising young apprentices for the Municipal Research Bureau or the City Planning Commission or the Local Housing Authority, or the Tax Payers' Association or the Good Government Association ought to prove and enhance their value. It is not inconceivable for public officials and administrative bureaus to accept part-time apprentices

who receive part of their school credit for such constructive services.

This form of direct and personal apprenticeship for potential leaders would not be difficult if we who are responsible for civic education would actually lift our own thinking into action. So long as such apprenticeship gives real experience in the community process, and does not degenerate into the mere histrionics of a "boy mayor for a day" or of pupils sitting in city council chairs for a sentimental photographers' holiday, it may tap and release the energies of youth for social good, and provide actual experience in vitalized accumulation of knowledge and the translation of that knowledge into active wisdom.

IN THESE proposals I have not attempted to outline a full program of civic education in the schools or to suggest all of the means by which thought may be lifted into action. But presentation in more positive terms of the faith and function of democracy as a way of life; and the creation of an effective and tangible program of civic and social apprenticeship in which young people are associated with their elders—these two present to us teachers a possibility of lifting our own thinking into action for the improvement of the civic task in which we are engaged.

HOWARD E. WILSON

[This statement was delivered in the American Faith Series, before the student body of Union College and broadcast by WGY, Schenectady. The author is chairman of the Division of Literature of Union College. His approach differs slightly from that of Professor Reiff's article in this issue.—*Editor.*]

Freedom of Teaching

MOST people nowadays seem to be living through what St. John of the Cross has described as "the dark night of the soul." The easy optimism of a few years ago appears to have vanished;

gone, as the English say, with the wind up. And yet, though much is taken, much abides, and in the midst of the general discouragement it might be well to appraise some of those possessions which have helped to form the American character, and which, in spite of everything, survive. My subject is freedom of teaching, and I hope to be able to show you that this is not a matter to be taken lightly, but rather a thing that we must actively cherish.

This nation was founded on the assumption that a republic can succeed only in proportion as its people are educated, and it has proceeded on the assumption that as much education as possible should be given to as many people as possible. It is an ambitious program, in some ways the most ambitious ever undertaken. It would have been impossible of realization if it had not been for what we call freedom of teaching. This is something that we all take for granted, and because we take it for granted, we might pause for a moment in order to see what it means.

Freedom of teaching means that any teacher, from the primary school to the graduate college, has the privilege, even the duty, of presenting facts as he knows them, and drawing from those facts the conclusions warranted by the evidence. It is not necessary in this country to follow an official doctrine invented by fanatics and enforced by the police; it is not necessary to compromise with truth because the political mysticism on which the state is founded demands a specific interpretation of evidence.

In Italy, scholars have been mobbed and their libraries destroyed because they were a little slow in praising the current head of the state; in Germany what we call scholarship has nearly disappeared, and the only teachers allowed to practice are party hacks or men who have so far escaped being denounced; in Russia the teacher must have a specified social background, and must follow what is called the party line. Otherwise his end will be swift and unpleasant.

None of these restrictions obtains in this country, for the United States is the only large country in the world in which teachers are free to follow their academic conscience, and present the truth as they see it, without fear or favor. It is assumed, of course, that all opinions will be expressed within the accepted bounds of good taste, and with proper deference to the convictions of others.

A Chinese poet of the eighth century, the celebrated Po Chu-I, has described in a despairing little parable a situation that has become only too common now on the continent of Europe. This little poem is called "The Red Cockatoo."

Sent as a present from Annam
A red cockatoo.
Colored like the peach-tree blossom,
Speaking with the speech of men.
And they did to it what is always done
To the learned and eloquent:
They took a cage with stout bars
And shut it up inside.

It is my contention that no contemporary American poet has any occasion to compose a similar parable about the eloquent and learned in our own country.

IT IS true that because our educational system is operated by human beings, a number of human mistakes have been made. School boards have not always acted with perfect wisdom, college presidents have sometimes deviated from that Olympian impartiality that is expected of their high office, some colleges even seem to have graduated the wrong people, but these are purely personal and individual matters. Speaking in the most general terms, teachers in this country are free to express themselves without being obliged to follow a prescribed pattern, and with no fear of the concentration camp and the firing squad. The historian Tacitus, who lived through what has been called Domitian's reign of terror says, "Rare are those happy times when you may think what you will, and say what you think." Those of us who still

enjoy that privilege are not disposed lightly to surrender it.

In any war truth is the first casualty, but even before the fighting starts truth is liable to find herself on the scaffold. Those anti-human and anti-social forces defined as fascism rely upon brutalizing and stupefying the minds of the people in order to succeed. In the name of party discipline every one in a fascist state is forced to think the same thoughts, utter the same formulas, dread the same punishment. Individual enterprise, freedom of thought, freedom of expression are stifled in the interests of the State and the Party, and to attempt to be independent is to be accused of treason. No one is allowed to analyze the epileptic philosophy that makes such a system possible; therefore in any fascist state the teachers are usually the first victims. In this country we can still discuss controversial questions, we can still find the courage to reject, we can still utter the truth as we know it. We may not always see that truth clearly—even teachers are not infallible—but we do an honest job because we live in a country in which honesty in teaching is still demanded.

FREEDOM of teaching exists in this country because a number of determined and resolute men have insisted on having it. Academic freedom, like political freedom, has been won, not secured as a gift. A very wise man, the late Professor William Graham Sumner of Yale, has said "Liberty is not a boon, it is a conquest, and if we ever get any more it will be because we make it or win it." Our political liberties have been won and held by men who were willing to take risks because they considered it intolerable not to be able to control their own destinies, and academic liberties have been won in the same way. The two, of course, are naturally found together, and are, in a sense, inseparable. In a state in which the individual is not free, in which his actions are circumscribed and his

opinions controlled by the police, educational institutions are a part of the state organization, and teachers do exactly as they are told by the authorities. The system as it exists in modern Germany has been well described by Erika Mann under the title *School for Barbarians*. We must not forget that the phrase "liberal education" means the education that befits a free man.

Europe is fast becoming an intellectual desert. German scholarship is a memory, the brilliance of France is in eclipse, England is wholly occupied with her war effort. This is the only important country left in which learning still follows an uninterrupted course. It is even possible that the primacy of Europe has passed, and that this country will become the intellectual center of the world. We shall undoubtedly be called upon to offer some kind of leadership if this war ever ends, and that leadership might well be in the sphere of education.

IT WOULD be unfortunate, however, if self-satisfaction led us into the besetting sin of democracies, and that is complacency. The small countries of Europe were complacent about their neutrality, the French about their army, the British about their empire—the list is too long and too painful for recitation. If we maintain that constant vigilance which is said to be the price of safety, we can preserve our privilege of living as we will, and that involves the concomitant privilege of learning what we like, and teaching what we believe to be the facts. If this remains the only country in which men may live like men, we must assume the responsibilities of our position. The ambitious dictatorship of Mussolini puts on its coins the phrase "It is better to live like a lion for one day than like a sheep for a hundred years." I say that this is a false antithesis. It is not necessary to choose the lot of any animal; one might prefer to live like a human being instead. Our schools and colleges are the great stimulators of our national life; to preserve the freedom of

expression that is still part of their tradition is to preserve a dynamic source of strength to the Republic.

If it becomes necessary for this country to assume a sort of intellectual leadership in the world, our free educational institutions may well be important, not only for ourselves, but for other people. If this madness in Europe ever stops, we, as representatives of a free and enlightened educational system may be leaders of a new movement to take the amenities of civilization back to the shattered European people.

"Have the elder races halted? Do they droop and end their lessons, wearied, over there beyond the seas? We take up the task eternal, and the burden, and the lesson, Pioneers, O Pioneers!"

HARRISON C. COFFIN

[In April *Social Education* published Professor Curti's "The Responsibility of the Teacher in Times of Crises," followed in May by a sharp criticism of the statement by Professor Pahlow and with shorter commentaries by Professor Purcell, Mr. Hughes, and Miss West. We now publish a rejoinder to Professor Pahlow from Professor Curti.—*Editor.*]

To the Editor:

I have neither the time nor the inclination to engage in controversy with Professor Pahlow nor to answer in detail the charge and questions which he has formulated in so unfriendly a way. I am not one of those who, like Professor Pahlow, choose to use withering sarcasm in an effort to blast the sincerely held position of an opponent. I shall simply make one or two comments.

In the twenty minutes I had at my disposal at Syracuse last November I had no idea of trying to deal adequately with the Minersville case: I merely referred to it. I recognize of course that any decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land and as a patriotic American I abide by the law. No doubt Professor Pahlow will admit that patriotic citizens may feel that minority opinions of the Court sometimes are, in the

judgment of many intelligent patriots, historically and morally sounder than majority opinions; no doubt he will admit that on more than one occasion the Court has been known to reverse its own decisions.

By liberty I meant, essentially, the civil liberties. By security I meant both the economic security of the individual and the security of the nation against its enemies. I have never supposed that in order to preserve the civil liberties *all* individual economic security and *all* national security should be thrown to the winds: nor do I assume that Professor Pahlow supposes that in order to preserve individual security and national security, *all* the civil liberties should be sacrificed. My point merely was that even in times of crises the maintenance of the civil liberties, unless the danger is clear and present, is functional to security, whether individual or national. In support of that position I might appeal to Socrates, Milton, Mill, and Mr. Justice Holmes. And I could appeal to the canons of the social sciences, which, as I understand these canons, hold that the finding and testing of facts, and the honest search for their true meanings, require free minds, or minds as free as it is possible for minds to be. Specifically, I said that it was the duty of teachers of the social studies, so long as possible, to avoid hysteria and propaganda, to search for and to test facts. I also said that if the educational system has within it teachers who repudiate the ideal of intellectual honesty and who do not believe in the values of democracy, then there is no place for such teachers in times of crisis when democracy itself is threatened. But I believe that facts and not prejudices and hysteria should determine whether or not the teacher is using his civil liberties in such a way as to jeopardize the security of his fellow-citizens and of the nation itself.

This is all I have to say.

MERLE CURTI

Teachers College
Columbia University

Adapting the Radio to the Classroom

Allen Y. King

ABOUT 29,000,000 homes in the United States, it is estimated, have radio sets—many of them more than one. If we include radios in automobiles, schools, and places of business, there are probably about 45,000,000 sets in use in our country. Our people in one year, 1939, spent about \$375,000,000 for receivers and parts alone. The radio, on which our people are willing to spend millions of dollars annually for entertainment and education, and on which advertisers spend many millions more, has indeed become a powerful factor in American life.

It is estimated that the average high school pupil voluntarily listens to the radio about two hours each day outside of school; that he spends as much time listening to the radio in one year as he spends in class-

Radio has provided us with a new teaching medium, the possibilities of which have been explored in many communities. In Cleveland particularly, with the aid of a grant from the General Education Board, extensive use has been made both of programs nationally broadcast and of others specially developed for the Cleveland schools. This account of sixteen years of radio use, by the director of social studies for the Cleveland public schools, who is also second vice-president of the National Council, was originally presented at a meeting of the National Council in New York.

rooms. We have a responsibility to see that these young people become intelligent listeners. We also ought to capitalize upon their natural interest in radio.

How can this device increase the effectiveness of our classroom work? What techniques, devices, and methods are needed to adapt the radio to classroom use? To what extent may educational programs for use in the school follow the pattern of commercial broadcasts and in what respects should some of these programs differ? How may radio be used to extend the effective arm of supervision?

There are two types of educational programs. First are those which may enrich, broaden, and vitalize the experiences of pupils but which are not closely related to any given course of study. These are the programs—many of them listed in each issue of *Social Education*—with which most teachers are now familiar. Second are those which are planned to be an integral part of a given curriculum. We have found both types useful in the Cleveland schools. Our unique contribution, if we have one, is, however, in our work with the second type.

NETWORK BROADCASTS

FOUR steps are necessary if such programs as "The Cavalcade of America," "Democracy in Action," "Americans All—Immigrants All," and "Gallant American Women" are to be adapted to classroom use as they are broadcast. First, teachers need to inform themselves about the programs which are available. This is easy. Teachers may have their names placed on the mailing

list for the monthly bulletins of the networks, such as *NBC Presents*, and the *CBS Student Guide*.¹ The networks also publish manuals outlining and describing their educational programs. These may be obtained free of charge from the networks directly or from local member stations. They give many practical suggestions which assist teachers in planning the use of these programs. Similar information may be obtained directly from state universities where the state universities have their own stations. Of unusual value also is the Service Bulletin of the FREC, published monthly by the Federal Radio Education Committee of the United States Office of Education. Finally, the teacher should consult the daily and Sunday newspaper radio columns, or the selected list published in each issue of *Social Education*.

The second step is to prepare the class for the broadcast. This may take the form of discussion of the topic, the reading of articles and books by pupils, or the arrangement of special displays of material related to the subject of the broadcast. If possible the teacher should suggest things for the pupils to listen for during the broadcast.

The third step is the actual reception of the broadcast. An informal atmosphere will increase its effectiveness.

The fourth step is the follow-up. This may include the discussion of questions raised by the broadcast, further reading on the topic, application of the subject to the local community, special excursions, or graphic expression and interpretation of the ideas presented. The full usefulness of the program can not be realized without an adequate follow-up.

One warning suggestion. A miscellaneous assortment of radio programs, each excellent in itself, can not take the place of a carefully organized curriculum. Curricula organized along subject-matter lines have

been justly criticized because they often tend toward a "compartmentalization" of ideas which can not be understood in isolation. But a curriculum based upon a hit-or-miss arrangement of radio programs may be worse. Each subject for a broadcast may become a narrow "compartment" of experience instead of an integration of experiences in which relationships are clearly seen.

NEWS broadcasts and many special programs should be received at the time of broadcast. On the other hand, programs on historical, geographic, economic, and sociological subjects will be most effective if they can be heard at the time when pupils are studying units related to the subject of the broadcast. For example, the American School of the Air program on "What Our Taxes Buy" has value at any time for high school classes, but has much greater significance if heard when the class is investigating problems of taxation. Similarly, a program on the gold rush or a dramatization of the life of Sam Houston will assist pupils most if these programs become a part of the experiences of pupils when a unit on Western Expansion is studied in American history.

We want pupils to investigate problems systematically and thoroughly. We can not interrupt their study every time an excellent radio program is available. Yet pupils should have the vivid experiences which many of these excellent programs make available. It is likely, therefore, that we will use recordings of these programs to an increasing extent. Some records are already available in such series as "American All-Immigrants All," and "The Cavalcade of America." I am informed that the National Broadcasting Company will release shortly a catalog of radio programs which they will produce in recorded form for school use. In Cleveland we already have a collection of electrical transcriptions which may be used to introduce new units of work, to provide in dramatic form, during the study

¹*NBC Presents* from National Broadcasting Company, RCA Building, Radio City, New York City, and *CBS Student Guide* from Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 485 Madison Avenue, New York City.

of a unit, information which will advance pupils along the road to their objectives, or to summarize and review the work of a unit. No doubt large school systems and state departments will presently maintain libraries of recordings just as they now maintain libraries of films and books.

LOCALLY PREPARED BROADCASTS

IN ADDITION to these general educational programs over the commercial stations, we in Cleveland have been preparing and using, for about fifteen years, a second type of program to which I referred at the outset; that is, lessons which are planned as an integral part of our course of study. After our teachers and curriculum committees have agreed upon objectives and outlined units of work to assist in achieving those objectives, we prepare radio programs just as we select books and motion pictures, or prepare lantern slides. We are now using some recordings, but many of our lessons are prepared by our own teachers.

Until 1938 these lessons were broadcast over local commercial stations, which gave us excellent cooperation. Since the fall of 1938 we have had our own short-wave station, WBOE, which was transferred to frequency modulation last February. This station was made possible by a grant from the General Education Board.

There are three principal advantages in a school station. First, we can broadcast programs at the times most convenient to our school programs rather than fit our programs to the schedules of outside stations, and we can repeat a lesson several times during the day when that seems desirable, as is often the case in secondary schools. Second, we can have pauses of any length we may desire. This permits us to plan for classroom activities during these pauses. Third, we need not consider the general listening public, but can plan programs to meet special school needs.

Our experience indicates that radio programs are most effective in the classroom if

they are not over fifteen minutes in length, and are heard only once each week. Plenty of time then remains during the week for each class to use its own initiative in planning and carrying on its own projects. There is no more loss of teacher initiative than there is with the use of books or motion pictures. The radio lesson merely gives additional assistance. It in no sense replaces the teacher.

If radio programs are to be of maximum value, they must be carefully planned and tried in classrooms before being broadcast to the whole system. For each series of lessons a teacher is carefully selected and freed from other responsibilities in the schools. This teacher is advised by a committee of teachers, the supervisor, and the principal in the curriculum center. Each week each radio teacher usually prepares one lesson. This involves writing the script, selecting lantern slides if they are to be used with the lesson, giving the lesson to several classes for trial purposes, revising it in the light of those trials, and preparing teacher's manual material.

If radio lessons are to be effective it is essential that a teacher's manual be prepared for the series. This should include a brief statement of the primary objective of the lesson, a résumé of the script, a list of the materials needed for the broadcast, suggestions to the teacher in preparing the class for the lesson, a list of items for which pupils should listen (these may be written on the blackboard), some suggestions for a follow-up after the broadcast, pupil bibliography, desk maps, and so forth.

When the script is written in tentative form it is given a trial in one or more classes. A committee of teachers, the curriculum-center principal, and frequently the supervisor observe the lesson, as given over a public-address system in the school. Notes on pupil reactions are kept by each observer. The radio teacher and an aid listen to pupil responses and by use of a stop watch record the time required for satisfactory pupil responses.

At the conclusion of the trial, the class makes its suggestions for improving the lesson, indicating parts they especially enjoyed, the sections which were not entirely clear, points which need further elaboration, and parts which may be eliminated if the lesson is too long, as frequently occurs. They rarely want to eliminate any parts. These classes take their responsibility seriously and constantly amaze adults by the pertinence and number of their suggestions. The teachers on the committee then meet with the radio teacher and offer their suggestions. The script is revised and given further trials. Two of three cooperating schools give the lessons to test it in different neighborhoods. A final trial and revision is made the week before the broadcast. This procedure is expensive in time and energy, but so is all good teaching. Our evaluation of results has convinced us that the time and energy has been well spent.

Teachers do not have time or opportunity to visit enough other teachers to see all types of methods in operation. We believe that we can help teachers to discover such techniques by bringing demonstrations into all classrooms by means of the radio lessons. Naturally the first aim of the lesson is to teach pupils, but while we are directing the thinking and activities of pupils we are also demonstrating some method or device which the teacher may use at other times and in other semesters. We do not say to the teacher, "Now watch, we are going to show you how to do this." We merely go ahead with the lesson suggesting activities and procedures which the class and teacher follow during the broadcast. Teachers thus see demonstration lessons.

APPROACHES AND METHODS

VERY rarely do any two lessons in a series use the same approach. One radio lesson may show pupils how to use their textbooks. We may direct them to the table of contents and ask them questions which they will answer immediately during planned pauses. We may refer them to the

index, the glossary, or the appendix in the book, again asking questions and suggesting specific activities which they immediately undertake. We may show them, through planned activities, how to use pictures in a book. In another lesson we may present a dramatization which will arouse interest in a new unit of work. These dramatizations are frequently simple enough that any class may use similar dramatizations in their regular classroom. In some dramatizations we may use pupils from the schools; in others we may employ the cast of the WBOE players, which is a group of high school graduates supplied by the NYA. To introduce one unit the radio teacher may present a preview of the new unit; in introducing another unit we may ask some exploratory questions which will reveal to the teacher what pupils already know about the subject and which will cause pupils to want to investigate the subject further. An occasional lesson may lead pupils to a greater use of the library. For example, in one lesson we dramatized a part of a book on the "gold rush," suggesting that pupils read the entire story. At the same time we suggested other similar books which they may wish to read.

Other lessons may show pupils how to outline their work, how to make illustrated time lines and friezes, how to summarize, how to study vocabulary and word meanings, where to go for further help in their study, how to illustrate ideas by means of drawings, cartoons, and graphs, how to build models when they may be helpful, how to use wall maps or desk outline maps, or how to use the graphic project globe.

We try to use activities which are appropriate to each unit of work; the activities are a part of the unit experiences. The pupils acquire skills at the time they are gaining an understanding of the major idea or ideas of the unit. In some radio lessons the principal objective is a skill or an ability, in others understanding, in others information, in others attitudes. In some lessons all of these are simultaneous aims.

One other type of lesson should be mentioned: that is the lesson which, by means of the radio, brings outside experts and authorities into the classroom. Such authorities can not make personal appearances in all classrooms, but the radio can bring them to all pupils. For example, in lessons on safety we may have the chief of police or the chief of the fire department participate in the broadcast. On the study of the local community we can use the mayor or members of his official family, the superintendent of the city hospital, the directors of private welfare agencies, leaders in business, industry, and the professions. Occasionally we have had federal officials, the Director of the Pan American Union or other non-local leaders record statements to be included in our lessons. Upon numerous occasions we have had visiting celebrities visit our studios for the purpose of recording a statement.

We attempt to make all radio lessons dramatic. One or two visits to classes receiving these lessons will convince the most skeptical that pupil interest is unusually high.

The voice of the radio personality or personalities may be vivid and real—frequently more real than the average person present in the flesh. To some of us Lowell Thomas is a more vivid personality, although we may never have seen him, than some of our friends whom we see frequently. Many of our pupils have built their own halos around the radio teacher. The new and different personality coming into the classroom has a stimulating effect upon pupils; it vitalizes the work; it varies the routine; it makes pupil experiences more enjoyable. It does not detract from the classroom teacher but rather helps him to win his pupils because they have pleasant experiences while in his class.

USE OF SLIDES

BUT we do not expect the voice of the radio teacher to do the whole job. The participation in the lesson by the receiving class and the classroom teacher play their

proper role. Moreover, many of our lessons use lantern slides to speak still another language. These slides may show pictures, charts, diagrams, maps, or cartoons. Activities of all types are used in the lessons where these slides are shown. When slides are used, they are generally shown during only part of the lesson. Many times classes use these slides in their follow-up after the conclusion of the radio lessons.

During the semester when the radio lessons are written many pictures, graphs, charts, and cartoons are made into slides for trial with the experimental classes. On the basis of these trials, the slides are selected, usually with the assistance of the pupils in the experimental classes. When the set of slides has finally been selected, they are duplicated by our Educational Museum and one set sent to each school which will receive the lessons during the following semester. The teacher's manual indicates which slides will be used in each lesson and the order in which they will be used. In following semesters when no radio lessons are broadcast these slides are available for use in all buildings.

The combination of the radio teacher's voice, the activities in the classroom, and the use of slides can make a lasting impression on pupils. I recall especially one elementary history lesson on the selection of the site of the capitol city of our country. The lesson began with present-day Washington. Slides were shown of the Capitol Building, the White House, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, a simple map of the city, and finally an artist's conception of the area before the founding of the city. The lesson appealed to both the intellect and the emotion. Every pupil and teacher hearing and seeing the lesson gained a new pride in our nation's capitol. Lessons of this type are especially valuable in building an enduring devotion and balanced loyalty to our country and its institutions. We need such direct approaches for the development of loyalties to our way of life.

VALUES

THE following summary of statements of values may be pertinent. Some of them were prepared by H. M. Buckley, assistant superintendent of schools in Cleveland, who is in a sense the father of our radio station.

1. If the radio becomes the most remarkable invention of all time for the communication of ideas, as it seems to promise, it is certain to merit a central place in a public-school system.

2. Auditory imagery is more effective for many persons than are printed symbols.

3. Many phases of regular school work can be improved by a reasonable amount of direct classroom instruction by radio.

4. Granted that radio is only a mechanical device and not a substitute for an educational system, it is a remarkable extension of the arm of the supervisor. The model lesson given over the radio is an effective means of supervision and an agency for the assistance of teachers in their professional growth. Such a lesson is the result of more time, specialized training, and skill than the individual teacher can offer. The teacher may utilize the techniques, devices, and methods, which are demonstrated, for many semesters to come.

5. The best use of the radio for classroom instruction requires silent intervals for pupil-teacher activity and response. The number and length of these silent intervals vary with subjects and also within a given subject.

6. The radio station needs to be available at any or all hours of the school day, so that the radio may be adapted most effectively to the school program rather than vice versa. The Federal Communications Commission has allotted certain frequencies for use by school systems. More large school systems, or sections of a state in which an educational station may serve a small region, or even state departments of education may properly consider the establishment of their own stations.

The establishment of such stations will

not prevent school systems from utilizing the many excellent educational programs provided by the commercial stations. In fact, our experience indicates that it facilitates such use. It will increase the awareness of teachers regarding the usefulness of such programs; it will provide experience for teachers in receiving educational programs in the classroom; it makes possible the recording and re-broadcast of many programs which could not otherwise be a part of the school schedule. We have wires to our studios from all local stations over which we may receive their regular programs. Many times their programs originate in our studios. This is particularly true of school programs which should reach the general public. The public-relations aspects of such cooperation are invaluable to any school system dependent on the public for support.

WHAT evidence do we have regarding the effectiveness of radio lessons of the type I have described?

First, the subjective opinion of competent observers in the classrooms receiving these lessons provide substantial evidence of the keen interest of pupils and of their alertness.

Second, the pupils demand, after they have had some experience with radio lessons, that they be privileged to have the lessons continued. I have often gone into classrooms and directed the attention of classes to some difficulties and objections to the use of the radio, following with the question, "Don't you believe we should discontinue the use of the radio in the school?" The response, which is *always* in the negative, threatening at times to become violent, is reassuring to say the least.

Third, no teacher is required to take the radio programs. They are all optional. Yet practically 100 per cent of the teachers who have ever received radio lessons which are integrated with the course of study insist that they receive them.

Fourth, we broadcast the lessons which are planned to fit the course of study in any

semester only about once every three years. A good thing should not be carried to extremes. When we do repeat the work of a semester it is usually done by a new and different series of lessons, although on similar subjects. However, we have frequent and insistent demands from pupils and teachers for repetitions of the lessons. The problem of station scheduling limits the number of lessons we can carry each week.

Fifth, objective and carefully validated tests have shown that pupils who have had radio lessons in a subject consistently get higher scores on these tests than pupils of equal ability who have not had radio lessons. Results on object tests in subject matter should not be considered as conclusive evidence, but when supported by other measures can not be ignored.

Sixth, unsigned questionnaires answered by teachers of elementary history and geography provide convincing evidence that they and their pupils anticipated the weekly radio lessons with pleasure. These questionnaires also show that the use of slides increases the effectiveness of the radio lessons, that the radio lessons help pupils develop more concepts and better understanding, that they demonstrate many new techniques and devices which teachers use in succeeding semesters, that variety of types of lessons should be used during the semesters, but that teachers and pupils prefer lessons involving activities and questions for pupil response ahead of dramatizations, and that tests can not be given successfully by radio.

TO DATE most of our experience with the curricular radio lessons has been limited to the elementary school. We have prepared similar lessons for us in the 9B social studies and hope to have some for senior high schools as soon as possible. We should have more evidence in the secondary schools in the next few years. However, in the high schools we have used weekly "Current Issues" programs to aid in the study of

current events which I mentioned earlier. These are not an integral part of the regular course of study. A number of factors, among them the time required to make and distribute slides, has prevented us from using the same techniques which have been used in the other series. Although the excellence of these programs, some of which have been from the series, "This Living World," has not been questioned, teachers have not been so enthusiastic about them. The probable explanation for this is that these lessons have been more or less unrelated to the course of study. Moreover, many teachers who take only one day a week for the special consideration of current events prefer the current-events papers as a basis for this day's work. It would appear from this experience, also, that teachers prefer the radio lessons when they can have the greater part of a week in which to pursue the subject of the broadcast.

It should be pointed out, however, that even with this series, 83 per cent of the teachers on unsigned questionnaires asked that the series be continued. These questionnaires also revealed that the most popular programs were those from "This Living World" series and those which brought to the microphone, and thereby into the classroom, local and national authorities on various topics. The teachers also indicated that they and their pupils preferred that emphasis be placed on instruction rather than entertainment in the classroom. This does not mean that the lesson should be uninteresting.

I have limited my discussion primarily to our experience in Cleveland, a continuous experience dating as far back as 1925. Others have developed equally convincing evidence that the radio can be a powerful instrument for education; that radio as an aid to education no longer needs to prove its possible usefulness. However, it deserves wider use and further experimentation by more people if we are to realize its greatest potentialities.

Social Lag and Civic Education

Edward G. Olsen

RECOGNITION of reality is the first principle of social welfare just as it is that of personal health. Unless civilizations and nations, like individual men and women, are willing to face frankly the basic ills confronting them, they can hope to achieve neither genuine solutions nor lasting social health. Today, with democracy in crisis both abroad and at home, it becomes increasingly obvious that adequate social diagnosis is the only practicable basis for constructive social prescription; that until fundamental causes of our social malady are understood no lasting cure can ever follow.

Surely it is evident that civilization today is very sick. Certainly it is clear that this ten-year world-wide economic depression is not merely a temporary disturbance in an otherwise healthy economic order. And increasingly it is apparent that wars abroad are not just renewed imperialist conflicts between hostile empires. Rather it is becoming ever more obvious that both depression and war are results of a world-shaking revolution, long under way and largely unnoticed.

This discussion of the implications for civic education of recent social changes is based upon an address to the Purdue University Guidance conference at Lafayette, Indiana, in November, 1940. The author, chairman of the division of education at Russell Sage College, amplified other aspects of this same theme in his "Teaching Citizenship by Analyzing the Social Lag" which appeared in *Social Education* of November, 1939.

It is true, of course, that Nazi aggression is the most conspicuous menace in the world today, but Nazism is itself only a result of this same underlying social revolution.

We must never forget that fascism and communism are far more symptomatic of a sick society than they are causes of that sickness itself. There is considerable truth in Father Coughlin's demagogic declaration that "communism is a social disease bred in the lurid ulcers of unjust poverty." We need to remember that totalitarian procedures find widespread popular support when orderly, democratic processes prove socially ineffective in meeting people's basic needs. More specifically, these abhorrent totalitarian philosophies find their support not because of Hitler, or Mussolini, or Stalin—these men and their satellites are only catalytic agents in the cauldron of social change—but because a *silent revolution* has introduced into democratic societies a structural and functional weakness which tends to paralyze their successful operation and may thus even come to destroy them.

EACH of us, upon coming into this world, receives two types of inheritance: (1) a biological heritage—physical organism, involving a functioning body with various abilities, capacities and potentialities—and (2) a cultural heritage—the things about him and the ways of behaving which are common in his particular social group. The human being is thus a biological organism cradled in a culture complex.

Now it is true that some of the social problems which endanger man's welfare are rooted in the biological inheritance; for example, congenital syphilis. But these

problems are few in number and are relatively minor in significance. Most of the evils which plague mankind today stem rather from his second type of inheritance, that is, from the very nature of his culture itself. To see how this can be, let us examine briefly three facts about our western cultural heritage which we must face.

Fact One. The cultural heritage is made up of both things and ideas—of radios, churches, and paved roads on the one hand, and of property rights, conceptions of deity, and traffic rules on the other. The cultural heritage, in other words, consists of man's *material inventions* (tools, machines, technical processes of all kinds), and also of his *social inventions* (language, religion, law, government, institutional procedures of all kinds). The cultural heritage, in short, includes all of man's inventions, both material and social.

Fact Two. The material and the social aspects of culture are closely interrelated, so that changes in one aspect must sooner or later be followed by correlative changes

in the other. When men construct continuous, hard-surfaced highways, for example, they soon discover that they must also organize new traffic codes to control their use with safety. And conversely, when men develop the corporate form of business enterprise they find that the erection of gigantic mass-production factories becomes financially profitable and hence practically possible. Thus it is evident that whenever a new invention appears, whether it be material or social in nature, some complementary changes must be made in the culture complex itself.

Fact Three. During the past half century material inventions have far outstripped the necessary correlative social inventions, and in this social lag—this silent revolution—root most of our menacing ills today. Let us concretely illustrate the nature of this social lag in two areas which today present the chief challenges to democracy at home and the major reasons for totalitarianism abroad; namely, the areas of domestic economy and of international relations.

AREA OF DOMESTIC ECONOMY

Material Aspects of American Culture (Machines, processes, technology)

From the first emergence of human life down almost to our own generation man has lived in bitter poverty because he simply could not produce enough goods to satisfy the basic economic needs of all the people. For as long as the muscle power of man and of animals remained the primary energy source, goods necessarily remained scarce and hence costly. But today we live in the Age of Giant Power, when the mechanical energy sources of coal, oil, and water do 90 per cent of the work, and provide each of us with the equivalent of two-score mechanical slaves apiece. Careful studies of our current productive capacity made by the Brookings Institution and by the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity indicate clearly that the United States now has the raw materials, the machine technology, the technical skill, the labor force and the energy sources to abolish poverty from this nation within a generation. Thus has our material culture advanced: from an economy of inevitable scarcity to one of potential abundance!



TECHNOLOGICAL PLENTY

Social Aspects of American Culture (Business and governmental policies)

Ten per cent of the American people now receive half of the national income, while 90 per cent of the people receive the other half. But 10 per cent who have half the purchasing power do not want half the output of our mass production industries. Yet the 90 per cent who want the bulk of that output have purchasing power sufficient to buy only half of it. Meanwhile, the 10 per cent who can not use their half of the national income to buy half of the consumers' goods invest much of their income in stocks and bonds the sale of which finances new factories to produce more goods to be sold to the 90 per cent who can not buy them. The inevitable result is restricted production for want of markets, widespread unemployment, and continued depression. Today about two-thirds of our American families receive incomes inadequate to purchase even a minimum health and decency standard. Thus has our social development lagged: although our engineers have built an industrial system of mass production, our private and public financiers have failed to develop an economic system making possible mass distribution!



SOCIAL POVERTY

Thus it appears that a generation which has the technological resources to abolish poverty from its midst prefers to maintain that poverty through deliberately sabotaging the productive process. Failing to develop mass markets through widening mass purchasing power, we choose instead to re-

strict production to that volume of goods which can be absorbed by the existing market at a profit to the producers. Why? . . . Social Lag! The lag of business behind industry . . . of finance behind technology . . . of distribution behind production . . . *Social Lag!*

AREA OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Material Aspects of World Culture (Transportation, communication)

Modern technology in the form of railroads, steamships, airplanes, telegraph, telephone and radio have shrunk the world tremendously during the past half century. Meanwhile, industrialization of the major nations has proceeded rapidly; new inventions, processes, and methods of production have made adequate access to the world's natural resources together with wider international markets the imperative economic necessity of every industrial country. Thus has our material culture advanced: from relative geographic isolation of regions and nations to veritable technical interdependence between them!



TECHNOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

Our generation, which has witnessed a marvelous technological integration of its material culture, now sees in reverse correspondence a social and human disintegration possibly more disastrous and certainly more world-wide than any previous age has known. Why? . . . Social Lag! . . . the lag of world politics behind world technology . . . of political federation behind technical unity . . . of a world state behind a planetary economy . . . *Social Lag!*

HERE is the silent revolution which threatens democracy—the social lag! The lag of business behind industry, of world government behind world technology, of social invention behind material inven-

Social Aspects of World Culture (Political, economic relationships)

When men admit no law higher than their own desires, we rightly call them anarchists. But when aggregations of men united in nation-groups glorify and apply this anarchy, we designate their action the highest form of patriotism. While technology shrinks the material culture and in consequence produces international economic interdependence, nationalism is intensified and strives bitterly for an economic self-sufficiency to match its absolute political sovereignty. Out of this striving comes war, the final human stupidity. Thus has our social culture lagged: anarchistic national politics are in irreconcilable conflict with world technology, and the inevitable result is growing world chaos!



SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION

tion, of education behind science, and of school programs behind vital needs of youth—here is the real menace to our democratic institutions! As Harry Elmer Barnes has well observed, we stand today with our material foot in an airplane and our social foot in an oxcart—and the stretch is becoming painful, not to say dangerous! Or, to put the same idea another way, we may demonstrate that forward-looking supermen have brought our culture to its highest peak of material perfection, while at the same time backward-gazing ape-men are using the supermen's technical inventions in ways that threaten both domestic stability and world civilization. Consider, for example, the fact that typically¹

OUR THINKING IS

Forward looking in areas of material culture

Experimental attitude. We view proposed changes without prejudice and with open minds, subordinating

Backward looking in areas of social culture

Stand-pat attitude. We view proposed changes with biased outlooks and strongly emotionalized convictions,

¹ The following contrasts are taken from the writer's "Janus-Thinking and Social Progress," in the *Journal of the National Education Association*, March, 1939.

For a more specific analysis of this same contrast, see his "Bulkhead Thinking and Human Welfare," *ibid.*, February, 1940.

emotional considerations and demanding factual evidence upon which to base tentative working conclusions.

Old ideas held invalid. We are sure that in ten years or less many of our present theories and practices will be out of date, and will need to be discarded as obsolete.

Change welcomed as progress. Having identified technological change with cultural progress, we acclaim each advanced material invention as a new Promise of American Life and Progress.

Social Lag! The ape-man outlook! And because of it our civilization, which has the resources to build a society of plenty, beauty, tolerance, and peace, is today being torn asunder and threatened with the onset of a new Dark Ages! This is no arm-chair theory; it is a smashing fact proclaimed on every hand by trends, tensions, and events the significance of which stands clear to all who will perceive it.

WHAT, then, shall be the basic orientation of American educators in this present crisis? How shall we see our primary responsibility in this race between popular education and civic catastrophe? What can we do that is genuinely constructive rather than superficially busy? These are searching queries, for they involve one's whole philosophy of society as well as his conceptions of desirable civic education. They are queries which each must answer for himself, in the light of his own diagnosis of social trends and their ultimate significance. But if the preceding analysis of social lag has any validity at all, then clearly the crying need of our civilization today is for the development of better social arrangements than those we now possess. Our fundamental function as civic educators therefore becomes obvious: we must proceed with all haste to emphasize education for democratic citizenship within a schizoid culture. For the logic of events is such that unless this kind of realistic civic education speedily becomes operative in our secondary schools and colleges, democracy itself will likely not long endure. As the Educational Policies

subordinating rational considerations to cherished traditions, beliefs and loyalties.

New ideas held unsound. We are convinced that theories and practices of a century or more ago are patently infallible and should remain essentially unchanged forever.

Change opposed as regression. Having identified social change with cultural decay, we denounce each advanced social invention as another Portent of American Decay and Death.

Commission has aptly said:

The problem of making the democratic spirit prevail in these dark days of hostility and uncertainty falls chiefly to education. The reformer may cry that it is a social problem, the financier may hold that it is an economic problem, the politician may claim that it is a problem of statecraft, and the escapist may fold his hands and murmur resignedly that it is a problem which can be solved only by the inexorable march of destiny. But the basic problem, underneath its social, economic, political masks is forever and always, simply and completely, the problem of modifying human behavior by the method of education. A would-be democracy which fails in time to grasp this principle and to act upon it intelligently and decisively is doomed. Its back is against the wall, the bandage of self-imposed ignorance is over its eyes, and the fingers of invited autocracy are tightened on the triggers of the firing squad.³

Now in planning this imperatively necessary program of education-for-democracy, what major goals shall we seek? Among the several possible, let us suggest two as being probably most fundamental:

We must help youth comprehend the essential nature of this world crisis. Youth must know that widespread domestic poverty endures today because our present business arrangements are not capable of widely distributing the relative abundance our technical abilities can produce. Youth must realize that fascist aggression terrorizes mankind because our existing international system of sovereign political nations is incompatible with the planetary economy our world technology has created. Unless youth come to understand that poverty and war with their attendant evils are rooted finally in the lag of man's social institutions behind

³ *Learning the Ways of Democracy* (Washington: National Education Association, 1940), p. 40.

his technical achievements, they will remain intellectually baffled, emotionally frustrated, civically cynical. Young people desperately need valid insights into the nature of this crisis, in order that their efforts to solve it may be directed against basic causes and not toward superficial symptoms.

We must inflame youth with a burning belief that the obligation to markedly diminish this social lag is their own; that the challenging civic opportunity of their generation is to invent new democratic patterns of domestic and international social organization, so that the present threat of technology may become instead the realization of its glorious promise. Youth must develop civic attitudes which will insist that man's technology be used for his mutual welfare and not for his exploitation or destruction. Unless young people can be motivated to build a democratic culture that is as rational in its social arrangements as it already has become in its technological developments, they will remain uncomprehending victims of their own machines.

WHAT a grave responsibility this is! Yet if we hope to be effective in our educational efforts toward democratic citizenship, we shall have to go forward in three new directions, and that right speedily:

We must go beyond conventional social studies into curriculum reconstruction. Traditional courses of study, whether in history, civics, or social studies, are not adequate as resource material whereby youth may understand their world. Civic education toward realistic social understanding is therefore largely futile under such a program. To make our civic efforts one-third effective, we shall have to become curriculum designers.

We must go beyond the classroom into the community. The traditional school is a highly artificial institution. Within its walls Jean and John are not at all the same

young people they are on the street, in occupational pursuits, in social and civic relationships. Civic education apart from continuous, firsthand reference to community factors is therefore largely sterile. To make our civic efforts two-thirds effective, then, we shall have to become community interpreters and community builders.

We must go beyond individual interests into societal needs. The traditional, book-centered school was institutionally unconcerned with either interests or needs; it sought merely to cover specified subject-matter within an allotted time. The present, child-centered school is much concerned with pupil interests but little with community needs; it seeks to foster understanding and self-expression within the individual personality. The future society-centered school will be much concerned with promoting individual growth through active, personal participation in community processes; it will seek to develop genuine civic competence and enthusiasm as opposed to mere verbalism. For we know now that the sum total of individuals' civic ignorance does not eventuate in collective civic wisdom. We are aware that the grand aggregation of individuals' civic indifference does not transmute itself into collective civic zeal. Civic education without reciprocal relationship between school and society is therefore largely fruitless. To make our civic efforts three-thirds effective, we must become educational pioneers.

Pioneering is never easy in any field, for the pioneer is always he who dares to challenge traditions of the past. And traditions, we know, are sacred to those who revere them. Yet civic progress may flourish on the hopes of the future as well as on the memories of the past, and in this most critical age the fate of democracy itself hinges upon a rapid and widespread popular recognition of the silent revolution's ominous import. Unless we face frankly that crucial fact, democracy must die!

The Securities Act

Emanuel Stein

THE dominant position of huge corporate enterprise in most phases of our economic system is a matter of common knowledge. But where we are familiar with the power and influence of corporations with respect to industries (in such matters as price-fixing and monopolization) we often overlook the significance of the location of power and authority *within* the corporation.

Traditionally, the control over a business rested in the hands of the owner; he was supposed to formulate the policies, see that they were properly executed, and derive the benefit in the form of profits. Where businesses are small and the owner himself is active in the management, the traditional situation still survives. But, in by far the most significant sectors of the economy, the historical union of ownership and control has long been dissolved to all practical intents and purposes. As Berle and Means have well said, "The fact today is that the stockholder no longer has direct influence on the management, and, further, the management is one thing; the body of stockholders is another; their respective interests are often opposed."¹

¹"Corporations and the Public Investor," *American Economic Review*, 1930, pp. 54, 58.

Why regulate the investment business? And how far has regulation gone? This article, continuing a series planned in cooperation with the Committee on Social Studies of the American Political Science Association, is contributed by a professor of economics in New York University.

How does it happen that control has been shifted from the owners to others? Who are these others? What are the consequences, actual and potential, of the transfer? It should be noted at the outset that several major hurdles stand in the way of stockholder control over the modern large corporation. First, the number of stockholders is so large, often running into thousands and occasionally even hundreds of thousands, that effective participation by all members of a corporation is a well-nigh impossible achievement. Second, the stake of the average stockholder is likely to be too small to compel him to take an active interest in the corporation's affairs; if things are not going to his liking—if, for example, no dividends are being paid—he is less apt to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the causes for this state of affairs than he is to sell his stock and charge the loss to experience.

But even if his investment is relatively large and his circumstances enable him to look into the corporation's affairs, the average stockholder is still not inclined to emerge from his inactivity. Many stockholders in our larger enterprises are primarily speculators who hope to profit from a rise in the price of the stock, rather than investors who hope to profit from increased dividend income. What difference does it make to the stockholder who purchased today at fifty and hopes to sell tomorrow at fifty-two, who the corporation officers are, where its plants are located, or even what products it manufactures?

Not all stockholders, of course, are speculators. Yet, even the most investment-minded person may experience great difficulties in following the corporation's affairs intelligently. Modern business is a vastly

complicated affair and it takes a variety of skills and experiences to understand even with approximate accuracy what is going on in the corporation. Varying the rate of depreciation on property, for example, may convert a loss into a profit or a profit into a loss. Revaluation of assets may create a book value for common stock out of thin air or, conversely, greatly understate the value of the common stock. How is the individual investor to know whether the accounting practices are sound?

Besides the practical difficulties and the indifference and ignorance of many stockholders, other factors operate to interfere with ownership control of the modern large corporation. Chief among these are the various legal devices, such as non-voting stock, voting trusts, and the proxy system by which stockholders of many corporations have been effectively disfranchised. Where such devices are used, it often becomes legally as well as practically impossible for even the most class-conscious stockholders to oust a management with which they are dissatisfied.

CONCENTRATED CONTROL

IF THE stockholders who are the legal owners and the residual claimants to the corporation's income and assets do not control, who does? The answer to this varies with the corporation. In some cases so-called working control rests with the owner of a substantial minority interest, as in the case of the late Van Sweringen railroad empire or in the Insull system. Other corporations are under the complete domination of a management group, consisting of major operating officers, which is enabled through control of the proxy machinery and the absence of individual large stockholders to withstand any challenge by discontented stockholders. Still other corporations are controlled by investment bankers who may have promoted the corporation originally, done all of its financing, possibly reorganized it several times, all the while keeping for themselves the dominant position on

the board of directors. Banker-hegemony is probably not nearly so common as many critics insist, but there can be no doubting the outstanding position of bankers in many of our largest corporations.

When corporate policies are determined by firmly intrenched "insiders" who do not themselves have substantial investments in the corporation's activities, the policies may be directed not primarily to the pursuit of profits for the benefit of the stockholders but to the enhancement of the insiders' income. Insiders may profit at the expense of stockholders, and may make their largest haul when the corporation is thrown into receivership or undergoes reorganization. In brief, the interests of the insiders are not only not necessarily the same as those of the stockholders but often stand in complete opposition to them.

Insiders may vote themselves large salaries and bonuses. They may borrow heavily from the corporation. Deserving relatives may be given well-paying jobs. Insiders may sell merchandise to the corporation at prices which give them good profits, or they may buy from the corporation on the same basis. These are but a few of the ways in which insiders can "milk" a corporation.

That corporate insiders today are of a much higher caliber than their forerunners, that the majority operate in the interests of stockholders, and that there are far fewer scandals in corporate management than formerly should not detract from the fact that, in the absence of legislation, the only real check to unwarranted self-seeking by insiders is self-restraint, which has proved ineffective in far too many cases.

THE CASE FOR REGULATION

EXTENSION of governmental control to securities issues would be amply justified if its only purpose were to see that the purchaser of securities got a square deal. So motivated, the legislation would be the same in principle as that seeking to protect consumers against impure foods and drugs or against other forms of misrepre-

sentation. *Caveat emptor* has long since given away, at least in part, to *caveat venditor* so far as consumers are concerned. If it is appropriate for the government to forbid the sale of shoddy as virgin wool, is it not equally appropriate to forbid the sale of worthless stocks as high-grade, income-producing securities? Indeed, if the sole test applied is the extent of consumer ignorance, then securities legislation is more easily justified than legislation against misrepresentation of commodities; for in the purchase of commodities the consumer has at least the evidence of his hands, his eyes, and his nose to help him.

Legislation on securities issues has its roots in other grounds as well. It is not only within the province of government, but it is also its duty, to promote the economic development of the nation. This involves the routing of capital from those who possess it to those who can use it to the maximum advantage. If a corporation has many customers and is a growing enterprise, it will require capital for expansion, and it is in the public interest for the corporation to secure that capital. If investors knew all the facts, they could be relied upon to supply capital to the growing companies and withhold it from the companies on the decline, for the former will yield dividends and the latter will produce deficits. But when misinformation concerning the state of business causes a diversion of funds from the former to the latter, economic growth is retarded and public welfare affected.

Further, if people have been "burned" once through the purchase of stock in a dry oil well or in a non-existent gold mine, they are likely thereafter to refrain from purchasing securities, thus obstructing at its source the flow of funds into industry.

STATE AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION

THE first tentative steps in the direction of governmental control of securities issues were taken by the states which began, in 1911, to pass the so-called blue-sky laws. These laws owed their name to the fact that

many securities sold by fly-by-night promoters had nothing behind them except blue sky. All the states, except Nevada, now have blue-sky laws. Most of the laws call for the registration of securities issues: i.e., a corporation wishing to issue securities, or a dealer proposing to sell securities, must file certain information about the corporation with a designated state official or agency. Sometimes registration laws are supplemented by licensing laws, the license usually being conditioned on proof of good character and financial reliability and sometimes on the posting of a bond by the broker or dealer.

A few states rely on fraud laws for the protection of investors. Fraud laws operate only after the fact; they are punitive rather than preventive. In a sense, their functioning resembles locking the barn after the horse has been stolen, since, unless fraud has been committed or the attorney-general has ample evidence that it is about to be committed, no active steps are taken to insure honesty and fair dealing.

On the whole, blue-sky laws have not been very effective. Insufficient appropriations for enforcement and incomplete personnel have been but two of the difficulties. The chief trouble has been that, because of the division of powers between the states and the national government, it has proved impossible for even the most energetic states to prevent frauds in the sale of securities so long as the crooks were astute enough to remain outside the state and pursue their nefarious business by means of the telephone, the telegraph, and the mails. Only the federal government with its powers over interstate commerce and the mails could reach crooked promoters operating across state lines.

Neither the consequences of insider control nor the shortcomings of state legislation would alone have resulted in federal action. The stock market crash which began in October, 1929, supplied the necessary impetus; millions of people lost billions of dollars, and their grievances formed the

basis for agitation for federal securities legislation. Investigations were conducted by committees of the House and the Senate; the revelations by these committees rendered the adoption of remedial legislation almost certain.

Between 1933 and 1940, seven different statutes were passed dealing with securities and securities markets. These are: the Securities Act of 1933, the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, the amendments to the Bankruptcy Act in 1938, the Trust Indenture Act of 1939, and the Investment Company Act and the Investment Advisers Act, both passed in 1940.

In spite of the considerable differences in detail among the various laws, they all contain two fundamental purposes: (1) to require full disclosure of all information which may be helpful to investors: (2) to prevent corporate insiders from using their power for personal aggrandizement.

THE SECURITIES ACT

BY THE provisions of this act, issuers of corporate securities, with certain exceptions, must register the securities with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Registration is accomplished by filing with the Commission much detailed information concerning the capital structure of the corporation, its owners, promoters, and underwriters, the securities to be issued, and the financial position of the company. Certified balance sheets and profit-and-loss statements must be submitted and information must be given with respect to the accounting methods and techniques employed. The rights, privileges, and priorities of the different classes of securities must be indicated in the registration statement, and details must be furnished about the relations of the corporation to its officers, directors, and underwriters.

If any security holder has lost money because of a false or misleading statement, or the omission of a material fact, in the registration statement he may sue for damages

all persons signing the registration statement. These civil penalties certainly operate to inhibit issuers from making rash or false or incomplete statements.

Supplementing these provisions are the fraud provisions of the law. These make it illegal to use fraud in the sale of securities by means of the mails or any instrumentality of interstate commerce. Thus the very powerful arm of the federal government is extended to assist the states in the elimination of security frauds.

THE SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT

IN 1934, Congress expanded its regulation of securities to cover the securities exchanges. Unless exempted by the SEC, all securities exchanges were required to register with the Commission as national securities exchanges and file certain information concerning their organization, constitution, and methods of operation. Further, the exchanges were compelled to discipline those members who violated the act. Other sweeping powers given to the Commission include the right to force exchanges to amend their constitutions and by-laws and the right to close exchanges temporarily if, in the opinion of the Commission, the public interest would be served thereby.

Additional curbs on the exchanges were laid by the credit-control provisions of the act. To the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System were given power to fix marginal requirements on transactions by brokers' customers and power to fix the maximum credit which banks were permitted to extend to brokers.

No security could be traded on a national securities exchange except with the permission of the SEC. Ordinarily, such permission is conditioned on the agreement by the corporation involved to furnish regularly to the exchange and to the Commission current information as to its balance sheet, profit-and-loss statement, and so on.

To prevent corporate insiders from using their knowledge to profit by trading in the securities of corporations they controlled,

the act provides that insiders' profits derived (within a period of six months) from buying and selling the securities of their corporations are subject to recapture by the corporation, and authorizes any stockholder to institute suit for recapture on behalf of the corporation.

Stringent prohibitions are imposed on manipulative operations of the cruder sort such as "touting" securities or engaging in "wash sales" or "matched orders." As to other, more accepted, types of manipulation, such as "pegging" prices of securities, the SEC is authorized to regulate and to limit. Certain other highly speculative operations such as short selling, and trading-in-options (puts, calls, and straddles), are also subjected to SEC control.

In brief, it may be seen that the act requires disclosure of information about exchanges as a condition to registration, and about corporations as a condition to listing. It makes insider trading unprofitable and protects the public against pools and other speculative operations which attracted such attention during the late 1920's.

THE PUBLIC-UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT

UNDoubtedly the most far-reaching of the securities acts, this statute vests in the SEC power over virtually every aspect of public-utility holding companies, even to the extent of authorizing the Commission to institute proceedings to dissolve certain holding companies. All holding companies in the gas and electric industries are required to register with the SEC, unless expressly exempted. As in the case of the two acts previously discussed, registration involves filing information with the Commission concerning capital structure, officers and directors, financial practices, and profit-and-loss statements.

Securities issues of utility holding companies and their subsidiaries are subjected to SEC control. Certain types of securities, such as preferred stock, debentures, and non-voting stock are prohibited unless the

SEC gives its approval. And no securities may be issued unless the SEC finds such securities to be appropriate to the capital structure of the company, consonant with its earning power, and duly regardful of the interests of the security holders. Similar requirements are imposed on the acquisition or disposition of other utility assets and securities.

The exhaustive investigation of utility holding companies by the Federal Trade Commission had brought to light numerous instances in which holding companies "milked" their subsidiaries, to the detriment of consumers and investors, by excessive charges for services, by borrowing from or lending to them, compelling subsidiaries to pay large, and in many instances unearned, dividends, and so forth. These and similar practices are placed under SEC jurisdiction by the Holding Company Act. It is now illegal for holding companies to provide services for their subsidiaries by means of service companies which return profits to the parents; and even non-profit, mutually-owned, service companies are required to render efficient and economical service. There is probably no phase of inter-company operations within a holding-company system which is beyond the reach of the SEC. Further, the power given to the Commission is implemented by its authority to prescribe uniform accounting systems and methods of record keeping.

Undoubtedly the most controversial feature of the act is the so-called "death sentence" clause, which empowers the Commission to take steps looking to the development of single integrated public-utility systems. This means that holding companies which spread over large areas or which combine gas and electric companies within the same area may be required to break up into smaller units, or at least to sell certain of their properties which can not fit into the Commission's definition of an integrated public-utility system. Only the most tentative steps have been taken thus far under the "death sentence" clause and there is

every probability that bitter legal controversies will have to be settled before governmental policy is properly delimited.

THE statutes passed since 1935 have operated chiefly to extend the sphere of governmental power along the lines indicated by the first three. Thus the amendments to the Bankruptcy Act authorize the SEC to investigate and report on plans for corporate reorganization, to the end that security holders may get impartial evidence and information. In this way the security holders are protected against abuses formerly practiced by protective committees.

The Trust Indenture Act seeks to impose safeguards around the writing of bond indentures. The powers, duties, and responsibilities of the trustee under the indentures are defined, and precautions are taken to prevent abuse by trustees of their powers.

In the Investment Company Act, Congress sought to eliminate the notorious malpractices in the investment companies and trusts which had been brought to light by repeated public and private investigations. Generally speaking the provisions of this act parallel those contained in the Holding Company Act.

Finally, the Investment Advisers Act aims to protect the investing public against bad practices by those who counsel purchasers. Investment advisers must register with the SEC, giving information as to their training, education, and experience.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ACTS

WITHOUT skilled and vigorous administration, the mere passage of such legislation would not be significant. The government has been fortunate in the men who have served, and are serving, on the Commission. They have been, on the whole, of very high caliber and have administered the laws with understanding and firmness. The quality of the commissioners is indicated by the fact that all of the chairmen who have served from 1935

to 1941 have moved on to positions of greater prestige: Joseph Kennedy to the ambassadorship to Great Britain, James Landis to the deanship of the Harvard Law School, William O. Douglas to the United States Supreme Court, and Jerome Frank to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Further, the staff members of the Commission seem, on the whole, to be highly competent, and it would be difficult to find a public agency with such able personnel—this despite various criticisms from those who object in principle to the Commission and its work.

It is much too early now to attempt any definite evaluation of the Commission. Many of its rules and regulations are still in a state of flux, and numerous legal questions will doubtless have to be settled. But it seems certain that the Commission is here to stay and that it is rendering valuable services in protecting the investing public and the capital markets.

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"Latin America and the Good-Nighbor Policy": A Round-Table Discussion

JIM: (*Read headlines from newspaper, then—*) These are only a few of the news items about our neighbors to the South that appear daily in almost every newspaper published. Never before in our history have the people of the Americas been so anxious to know about one another. What is the reason for this newly aroused interest? America's twenty-one republics have grown up together here in the Western Hemisphere and why haven't they concerned themselves about learning each other's language, customs, and people? Tonight's round-table discussion has been arranged to help stimulate this recently aroused interest and to further the movement of inter-American good will

We hear much of the need for much more attention to Latin America in our schools, but teachers are still handicapped by their own lack of background and by scarcity of suitable study materials. Perhaps this round-table radio script, prepared by five students in the Central High School at Tulsa, Oklahoma, will prove suggestive. Incidentally it calls attention to several important factors in current Latin-American relations.

The five students who participated in the round table are Jim Elson, Bill Almen, Jack Ware, Jerry Biddison, and Tom Nesbitt. The script was made available through the courtesy of Miss Esther Larson, American history instructor in the Tulsa public schools.

which is an essential part of our National Defense Program.

TOM: Our interest in Latin-American affairs isn't exactly new, Jim. It has had a long history, beginning in the early nineteenth century when the Latins were fighting for their independence. In fact, several of our young men even joined the rebels against Spain.

JERRY: I thought it was the Monroe Doctrine that opened our relations with Latin America.

TOM: Well, Jerry, that was the most important move in their favor and they were grateful to us, because the Doctrine guaranteed their independence and prevented the partitioning of the South American continent.

JERRY: Yes, but why didn't that gratitude last? Certainly from everything you read you find that they haven't liked us very well.

JACK: That's a long story. When the Latins realized that the Monroe Doctrine did not prevent our great territorial expansion movement in the 1840's they began to doubt our intentions, and when the United States took over Puerto Rico and assumed a protectorate over Cuba at the close of the Spanish-American War they grew alarmed.

BILL: Private investments that had grown to large proportions at this time also had something to do with this feeling of distrust, didn't they?

TOM: That is what led to the charge of "dollar diplomacy," Bill. This policy was based on the principle that the government of the United States should "extend all

proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad." The first example of it came in 1904 when the Dominican Republic defaulted on its foreign debts. To prevent the European countries from stepping in, and to protect American interests, President Theodore Roosevelt arranged to have the United States collect the customs of the Dominican government and use part of the proceeds to pay interest and principal on the debts. This system did not arouse ill-will until a series of revolutionary disturbances rocked the country, and the American marines were sent in to restore order.

JERRY: But I think this era of intervention to protect our investments also made its contributions, Tom. There is no longer any question about the benefits the North American engineers have conferred on South America, and the Latin people realize and appreciate this fact. Their governments have used American loans to build elaborate public works, highways, and railroads. When oil was discovered and needed American equipment to produce it, large American companies financed expensive refineries and constructed miles of pipelines to carry the oil to the sea for the markets of the world.

JACK: I agree with you there, Jerry, and it was only when these twenty-one western republics began to realize that each had something to gain through a policy of mutual cooperation and friendship that a "good neighbor" understanding became possible.

JIM: What is this good-neighbor policy?
TOM: It is based on the principle of equality among the twenty-one Western republics and each nation is pledged never to interfere in the internal affairs of another. Thus there was no brandishing of the "big stick" when Salvador and the Dominican Republic defaulted on their debts in 1932. Then two years later the Platt Amendment was revoked and the United States government definitely abandoned intervention in Cuba. When the eighth Pan-American Conference convened at Lima in 1938 the atti-

tude of the Latin Americans had changed from one of suspicion to one of cordiality and cooperation.

JERRY: Much of the success of this plan rests on the capable men who have promoted it, I think. The sincerity and fair dealing of Cordell Hull has won the confidence and sympathy of all Latin America. Mr. Hull has definitely planted the idea that there shall be a concerted drive made to implement peace, commerce, and honest friendship among these Western republics, so that hemisphere solidarity may become a reality.

BILL: You will have to give a good deal of credit to Nelson Rockefeller, the coordinator of all cultural and commercial relations between the Americas.

JACK: Rockefeller—now isn't that name going to sound like more "dollar diplomacy" to the Latins?

BILL: Not when they realize what a good neighbor he really is. His enthusiastic approach and sound methods of work are already getting results. Both here at home and in Latin America, the radio and press have increased their facilities to bring us programs and news of inter-American interest. Then Hollywood is producing a series of educational films to implement the good neighbor policy. Translations are being made of the most representative publications of each nation, and the study of Spanish, Portuguese, and English is becoming quite the vogue. High schools and colleges are encouraging the study of Latin-American history here and United States history there, to say nothing of the movement to promote exchange scholarships among students and teachers.

JIM: Everyone is aware of this campaign to introduce the Americans to one another, but it might still turn out to be inadequate unless we can provide the necessary capital to stabilize their economy and help them to raise the standard of living among the common people.

JACK: Don't get the idea that it is being neglected, Jim. The Export-Import Bank has \$500,000,000 to promote a plan for this

very purpose, and much of it is already being spent. Loans have been made to encourage the development of such resources as tin, copper, rubber, and iron, all of which are strategic materials necessary for national defense. Then industrialization is being encouraged both by loans and technical assistance, and plans are under way to bring about large scale buying of Latin products by the people of the United States.

BILL: That is the most immediate interest right now since they must have dollar-exchange permits with which to buy our goods.

JACK: Then we have to help them dispose of their surpluses which they can not export to Europe on account of the blockade.

JERRY: We might arrange to take more coffee, and other tropical products, but we can't take more cotton, wheat, or beef. We shouldn't ruin our own farmers just to be a good neighbor.

JACK: There is no intention of hurting the American producer by bringing in competitive goods. Brazil has been given a loan with which to launch a program of industrialization and that should divert her interest from cotton production. To the Argentine Republic has gone \$60,000,000 to promote industrialization there. Then, the Inter-American Bank has been established to assist in financing the marketing of these surpluses.

TOM: Jack, I don't quite understand the loans from the Export-Import Bank. According to Bruce Barton, the Latins owe our own investors many millions of dollars—and these debts are in default. Just how are they going to assume these new obligations and will the outcome be any different?

JACK: I am afraid those former loans were made without investigating the economic problems involved. Recently the president of the Export-Import Bank made a trip to Latin America to determine just what the needs of the people were so that loans could be made with due consideration

of all interests concerned.

BILL: Then, too, we have to remember that these loans are in the interest of national defense and no effort should be spared to secure and protect the Western Hemisphere. That's why we're giving aid to Britain and she too owes us money and her debts are in default. It's certainly to our interest to develop the strategic materials we need for our national defense here in this hemisphere. We can't very well risk getting them from the East Indies now, with all the sea lanes interrupted.

JIM: What we are trying to do, as I see it, is to help these surplus nations change from an agricultural economy to the production of industrial goods so that they will become better consumers of their own surpluses. Anything we can do to develop their industries will contribute to their economic stability and improve their standard of living. That will make them better customers even of our industrial products.

TOM: But won't this industrialization program that we are encouraging help to create competitors whose products will compete with our industries? Brazil is reputed to have the best iron ore in the world and this in time can be developed into a huge industry.

JERRY: On the surface it appears that way, but it is only with the industrialized nations that we have ever been able to trade on a profitable basis. As Canada industrialized, our trade with her grew. The Latin nations who operate on a colonial economy have never been good customers.

TOM: Haven't the eleven reciprocal trade agreements helped the Latins to dispose of their surpluses?

BILL: Trade has increased with every one of these nations and naturally relief has been given but there is still room for expansion in the field. Our market for hides, flaxseed, carpet wool, long-staple cotton, and corned beef can be increased. These are products that our farmers can't produce profitably.

JERRY: But, when the war is over, and

Europe again is asking for Latin products, isn't it likely that these nations, traditionally more European than American, will go back to their accustomed markets, disregarding all our planning?

JACK: I believe that will depend upon how well we insure solidarity in this hemisphere. This is our opportunity to revive our sadly depleted foreign trade. Think of the almost limitless markets in Latin America for our automobiles, radios, machinery, manufactured goods, and canned fruit. Then there is their rearmament program and their highway development with which we can help. It is Mr. Rockefeller's ambition to so sell America to the Americas that there will be little temptation to return to the old colonial economy of years gone by. This will mean inter-American cooperation and planning for the development of products that we do not produce here—the strategic materials necessary for our common defense first and foremost. These nations can become our best customers if we can raise their standard of living.

JERRY: Natural trade routes, however, run east and west and not north and south, and Europe having been Latin America's best customers may regain this position despite anything we can do.

JACK: Europe may be their natural customer and the east-west routes traditional, but we are living in a new age with aviation routes running north and south and we too can become natural customers by developing the vast, still unrealized, resources of the Western world. You will have to admit that this traditional trade with Europe kept the Latin-American states from industrializing and was partly responsible for keeping their masses of common people on a feudal subsistence level.

JIM: Our problem then, as I see it, is to help improve the economic conditions of Latin America so that they will not succumb to Nazi propaganda.

TOM: That brings up the Nazi problem in South America. The theme they harp on

is that hemisphere solidarity is just another name for our scheme to seize control of the Latin governments. The effect of this propaganda has been—

JIM (interrupting): I think that although the correspondents have minimized the recent Nazi activities in South America, there are enough factors working in Germany's favor there to give us some real grounds of uneasiness. The Germans in Latin America—and there are large groups concentrated in certain areas—have never become culturally assimilated. German settlers have organized singing societies, gymnastic leagues, clubs, and so on. This collective action leaves a nice place for the Nazi agitators to step in.

JERRY: I don't believe you can condemn all the Germans because many of them left Germany because of oppression, and dislike of Nazi doctrines. And, too, it isn't going to help our good-neighbor policy if we magnify their Nazi troubles. Brazil seems to have handled her own situation very well and her main weapon is assimilation.

BILL: I believe the best defense we can set up is to help Latin America recover from the loss of its European market. Then and then only can we be sure that Hitler's trade agents will not find the Western Hemisphere easy prey.

TOM: But isn't this whole plan for hemisphere solidarity based on the idea of preserving democracy and yet some of the Latin states are said to be dictatorships and according to the "good neighbor" we are not to interfere with the internal affairs of another nation. Are we then to ignore these dictators when that is what our whole policy is set up to defeat in Europe?

JACK: There are working democracies in Latin America, and there are *mild* dictatorships. Each of the twenty-one republics has used the United States Constitution for a pattern, but it has been interpreted in many different ways. The benevolent dictators of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay are a far cry from the totalitarian dictators of Europe.

TOM: Perhaps if we knew just a little more clearly the reasons for the Latins' fear and suspicion against the United States we could combat Nazism as it is used to revive this feeling of ill-will toward us. Just what are the reasons for this dislike, other than dollar diplomacy and the big stick?

BILL: In the first place they do not know us and we do not know them. Then there are very great differences between the two Americas. Their mass population is mostly Indian and Negro, and class distinctions are very marked. They are European in philosophy and education. Again we have been poorly served by some of our agents in Latin America. Too many reports have been written about the Latins that are not based on actual conditions. Too often the wrong thing has been publicized. Then trade with the Latin states has not always been sufficiently encouraged. Trade after all is the most lasting bond between nations. We learn and know best those with whom we trade the most.

JACK: And, Bill, we haven't tried to combat this feeling against us. Travel has been neglected and certainly Latin America has just as much to offer the tourist as any other continent. Here are old civilizations, old universities and institutions that would challenge anyone's imagination, and as for scenery—you will find 7000 miles of it between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn.

BILL: One thing that is going to help materially in cementing the bond between the two Americas is the present plan to create an institute for men in governmental,

cultural, and commercial fields who plan to work and live in Latin America.

TOM: Another is the invitation extended by the War Department to the Southern republics to send officers to take courses of special training with the United States Army and then there is the opening of our newly acquired naval bases for use by any and all American nations. It is probably on this military front that most progress has been made for hemisphere solidarity.

JIM: Let us summarize now in the time that is left so as to emphasize some of the things we can do so to secure hemisphere solidarity and create a better understanding here in the Americas. First, as I see it, we must increase understanding between the two Americas by encouraging travel on a two way basis—strengthen cultural ties through education, the arts, music, and sports. Our schools must devote more attention to Latin-American history and problems, and their schools must teach United States history and problems. Inter-change of our literature and publications, our radio and concert programs must be arranged.

Then on the economic front there is the big job of so arranging our trade relations that all strategic materials needed for national defense are produced in this hemisphere, that our surpluses are brought under control and that new markets are developed for the purpose of raising the general standard of living over all of the Americas. This program, I believe, is desirable regardless of what the outcome of the war in Europe may be.

Freedom of Speech— Some Newly Needed Safeguards

Henry Reiff

MUCH is said these days about freedom of speech and its companion liberties, freedom of the press and of assembly. Many fear lest in the present parlous circumstances our precious Anglo-Saxon heritage may be impaired or destroyed. Little, however, is said about the limitations on that speech which have grown up *pari passu* with the freedom, and which Anglo-Saxon experience has found justifiable. Moreover, many of our fellow citizens fail to distinguish between freedom of speech and freedom of activity. To these two latter points the present discussion is directed.

It may as well be said at once that under no system of government on record has there ever been complete and unrestricted freedom of speech. Like all other liberties, freedom of speech has been qualified variously under different systems of government. It is now restricted in varying degree among the several types of government in existence, most under the authoritarian states and least in the democracies. There probably will never come a time when complete freedom of speech on any and all subjects, on any and all occasions, and for any and all purposes will be tolerated by any government conceivable at the pres-

Must freedom of activity be limited in order to safeguard freedom of speech? The question is discussed by a professor of government in St. Lawrence University.

ent moment. No such Utopia appears anywhere in sight. If we can believe Milton, there is not complete freedom of speech even in Paradise!

LIBERTY AND ITS LIMITATIONS

IN OUR Anglo-Saxon system, a conflict between the individual and his government involving freedom of speech can not be resolved by application of some simple golden rule of thumb. The issue is resolved by appeal to four centuries of political and legal theory, to our philosophy, to our governmental practice. The presumptions of the law are not always in favor of the individual, nor always in favor of the government. Sometimes they are in favor of the community and against both the individual and the government. The central principle is, of course, that you have liberty to think, to say, to write, to print what you please, and that principle is written down, lest government forget it, in our national and state bills of rights. The courts have been assiduous in protecting the individual where government has forgotten or ignored it, in peace time and war time. As the Supreme Court has said, "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times, and under all circumstances."¹

But the exercise of that liberty by any individual has always under our system of government been qualified in the interest

¹ Ex parte Milligan, 4 Wallace 2 (1866).

of the safety and well-being of other individuals affected, of the community, and of the government. A few examples of the qualifications thus far held justifiable are as follows:

1. You may not utter words intended to injure your fellow, for that is libel, and you may be held in damages for it.
2. You may not disturb the peace and good order of society by some types of utterances, for that has long been punishable by fine or imprisonment as criminal libel.
3. You may not by word of mouth obstruct the course of justice, for that is punishable as contempt of court.
4. You may not use obscene or immoral language in public, in print, in the movies, or over the radio; you may not distribute such matter through the mails of interstate commerce.
5. You may not incite to violence.
6. You may oppose by word of mouth or in print the passage of any legislation or urge its repeal, but you may not advocate resistance to it as long as it is the law.
7. You may not use language whose remote tendency is to bring about changes in government by forceful means.
8. You may not use words in such circumstances as to produce a clear and present danger that an evil will be consummated which the government has a constitutional right to prevent.

These and many other qualifications on complete freedom of speech have been sanctioned for a long time under our system of government, and without such qualifications our government could not long remain free.

Many people confuse the *social* consequences of what they say with the *legal* consequences. When they meet public and private resentment for what they say, they mistakenly ascribe that to governmental restriction. Whoever utters unpopular sentiments, provided they come within the constitutional limits, should have the courage to go on speaking the truth as he sees it, and take his chances with his listeners, as did our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. It is too much to expect a free government to guar-

antee both liberty of speech and an enthusiastic reception for an unpopular doctrine.

WORDS VERSUS FORCE

BUT freedom to speak is not freedom to conspire. Nor is it freedom to organize to frustrate the legitimate functions of government. No free government need tolerate such activity aimed at public safety and public welfare.

The highest court in the land has sustained again and again your right to *advocate* liberalism, paternalism, socialism, communism, fascism, nazism. It has sustained your right to *advocate* the peaceful adoption of those forms of government if you like them, but it has never conceded you a right to advocate bringing about such a change by *use of force*. In this respect, the supreme law of the land is in complete accord with the doctrine of freedom of speech elaborated by the great Anglo-Saxon thinkers from John Milton to John Stuart Mill. In their day the logical alternative to the use of words was the use of force—insurrection with pike and sword and musket. They therefore put their faith in open-and-above-board debate as the best instrument of social change. As Milton stated it: "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter."

Ay, there's the rub! "A free and open encounter"—if ever it existed, it does not exist now. Modern propaganda techniques, psychological assaults, wars of nerves, and other devices in the hands of enemies of democracy have been used to destroy such "free and open" discussion. The evidence of such tactics is altogether too plain in the experience of the democracies of Europe and now in our own. Those enemies of democracy have no use for "free and open" discussion except as a mantle to wrap about their insidious purposes.

Nor do they resort to the simple logical alternative of use of open force. That is as outmoded as the pike and the sword and the musket. New methods utilizing princi-

ples or tactics unknown to Milton and Mill can now achieve what only insurrection could achieve in the days gone by. Conspiracy, collusion with foreign dictatorships, subsidies by such governments, sabotage, cells, masking of identities, boring from within, espionage, secret organization, terrorism, secret drills, the spreading of distrust and defeatism, duplicity and deception, capture of democratic organizations, the preparation of strategic positions against "The Day"—these and other methods are the post-war substitute for the use of simple force. They are more effective than simple force. Simple force can be combated where it shows itself, but these methods show themselves not. In the end, as the European democracies learned to their sorrow, these methods destroy free government from within.

NEED FOR NEW SAFEGUARDS

IT REMAINS for us, then, to bring the law of the land up to date. The old alternatives of use of words or use of force no longer stand in classic opposition. Our

law already protects the use of words. It already prohibits and penalizes the use of force. It must be adapted to meet the *tertium quid*, the hydra-headed threat to free speech and free government. It can be devised to safeguard those of good faith and render impotent those with wicked designs. The problem is only quantitatively, not qualitatively, greater than that which confronts our law enforcement agencies every day—to discover, to disclose, to determine intent and purpose. It is not beyond our skill to develop the techniques necessary to meet the threat. To believe otherwise is to yield the field to those who already gloat over an alleged impotence in democracy. We have the skill to meet the crisis; it remains to strengthen our will.

No free government can long endure without freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly. But no free government can long endure where there is freedom to conspire against the public safety, where there is freedom to organize to obstruct the government in its lawful functions, where there is freedom to destroy freedom.

At no time in the history of American education has a concerted effort been made to rear a generation in the discipline of free men. Indeed, at no time has the teaching profession been fully aware of the problem. While there has been much talk about discipline there has been little attempt to relate the discussion to the great purposes of democracy. Opposing schools of thought on the question have generally assumed that in the educative process, as in life, discipline and personal liberty are in conflict. But whereas the one has been inclined to identify education with discipline, the other has tended to associate it with liberty. Though both of these emphases are needed in the schools of a free society, the conception of discipline held by the one group is as deficient as the conception of liberty held by the other.

The discipline of free men . . . can be achieved only by living for years according to the ways of democracy, by rendering an active devotion to the articles of the democratic faith, by striving to make the values and purposes of democracy prevail in the world, by doing all of these things under the guidance of the knowledge, insight, and understanding necessary for free men. (Educational Policies Commission, *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 1941, p. 87-88.)

Is Our Elementary Education Too Soft?

Franklin C. Chillrud

CHILDREN grow up today under conditions which are quite different from those that obtained even a few decades ago. It will be the purpose here to call attention to two of these conditions and then to consider the nature of the adaptation of the elementary school to these conditions.

In the first place, the average child today appears to receive proportionately far less guidance and direction in his life outside the school than he formerly received. This appears to be true with respect to each of the three important formative agencies of an earlier period, namely the community, the home, and the church.

CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

THE typical modern community is obviously less stable and less homogeneous than the community of a few decades ago. The people who live in a given neighborhood are continually changing and, under conditions of modern life, people who in a physical sense are neighbors can live for years as relative strangers. The child frequently has little opportunity to strike his roots, so to speak, deep into the

Does modern society deprive children of needed responsibilities and a needed sense of being socially useful? Has modern education overemphasized pupil interest at the expense of society's needs? A professor of education in Union College gives his reasons for so believing.

life of any one community. He himself moves about and is not infrequently transplanted several times during the period when he is growing up. The child today meets many more people and no doubt has a much greater variety of experiences than formerly, but both the personal contacts and the experiences would appear to be far more superficial on the average than formerly. The stimuli to responsible behavior according to generally accepted standards of conduct, which come from moving day after day and year after year among the same people, are not operating today to the extent that they were formerly. The modern community is not as important a formative agency as was the older, more stable, and more homogeneous community.

Similarly the modern home would appear to suffer in comparison with the home of an earlier period with respect to the amount and continuity of guidance or direction available to the average child. Modern life disperses the family group. To a greater extent than previously, each member of the family goes his separate way, and the home has become, more and more, merely a place at which the family gathers to eat and to sleep. This means that the opportunities for guidance and direction of many children by their parents are much less adequate than formerly.

Finally, it is generally recognized that the church of today is less important on the average in its influence on children than it was even a few decades ago.

Thus in our modern society, the formative influence of the community, home, and church appear to be less significant than in

the past. The picture looks even worse if we consider the greater need for guidance and direction in our more complex society and that we also appear to be less clear than formerly with respect to our system of values. Because of their eclectic character, with their inevitable inner inconsistencies, many of the numerous experiences of the modern child will tend to have a purely negative effect and will thus fail to point him in any given direction.

DISAPPEARING WORK OPPORTUNITY

A SECOND consideration of modern life is the relative absence, in the lives of an increasing proportion of children, of socially useful work. Such work, common to practically everyone as a natural part of the process of growing up in a simpler society, has educational significance which can hardly be overestimated, and its relative absence today must be considered as one of the most basic facts in any view of education.

In the first place, the absence of such work would seem to mean that it must be very difficult for the modern child to feel that he is an integral part of the society in which he lives. From the point of view of domestic economy, he no longer is an asset from an early age but has become, in increasing proportions, and for a larger portion of his life, a real—let us say—luxury. That he comes to sense this relatively early there can be little question.

The absence of the feeling of belongingness that comes naturally from participating in the work of the family—carrying a load in proportion to his strength—must be considered one of the real deprivations of the modern child. Such feeling of belongingness is a key element in morale, and any feeling on the part of the modern child that he is somehow superfluous and that he is adrift in the society in which he lives must be considered as an important aspect of the youth problem as it exists in this country today. This latter condition of mind tends to make youth a ready victim of anyone

who comes along and gives him a uniform and something to do, and thereby gives him a basis for believing that he is of some consequence.

In the second place, work is of significance from the point of view of education in self-discipline. The modern child may be sufficiently active but, from the point of view of the issue under discussion, there is a sharp difference in the educational value of recreational and play activities on the one hand and work activities on the other. Play activity is initiated without effort and can cease at any time at the choice of the individual, while work activity is more difficult to get under way and is oriented toward the achievement of some definite external goal.

Life is an admixture of work and play, and the education of the child should prepare him for the former as well as for the latter. From the point of view of education in self-discipline, the absence of socially useful work as a natural part of the process of growing up must be considered a real disadvantage of the modern child.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOL

WITH this brief and, at best, only suggestive introduction, we may turn to the consideration of the nature of the adaptations of the elementary school to the conditions of modern life. The school, it is generally assumed, serves a supplementary function; that is, the school is presumed to provide for those things in the development of individuals which are not adequately taken care of in out-of-school experiences. On this assumption one would expect that, if the alleged deficiencies of out-of-school experiences have any validity, the school would (1) take greater care than ever before to provide direction of the educative process in terms of social values, and (2) compensate as best it can for the lack of work experience of the modern child.

It would be highly presumptuous for me to try to evaluate the character of ele-

mentary education in general. Practice varies too much from school to school and from classroom to classroom to warrant any blanket evaluation, yet it seems safe to say that one of the most noticeable trends in elementary education in recent decades has been the trend in the direction of the theories and practices of what we know as Progressive Education. The concern here will, therefore, be with the adjustment that Progressive Education makes to the conditions of modern life already mentioned. It should be clear that Progressive Education is not here being discussed as a general system of education; on the contrary, only one of the characteristic points of emphasis within this system will be considered.

OVEREMPHASIS ON THE CHILD?

IT HAS already been implied above that the process of education may be conceived as operating about two foci, if they may be so designated. The first of these is the society in which the school operates and for which the immature are being prepared, and the second is the immature individual himself. It is a central problem in education to keep both of these foci clearly in mind and to achieve a judicious balance of emphasis between them.

Since the school is an agency specifically created for the purpose of assisting individuals to grow out of their immaturity, an emphasis on the needs of society would seem to require little defense. It is the function of the school to guide and direct the individual in the development of characteristics and abilities which are important in the particular society in which the school operates.

At the same time it is important to center attention on the immature individual himself. He is the raw material, so to speak, of education, and, in any process of transforming or modifying raw materials, the nature of the materials and the processes of transformation, though subordinate to the ends desired, are themselves of fundamental importance. The school may con-

sequently be expected to devote much time, energy, and thought to the study of individuals placed in its charge and to give much consideration of the processes of development. It must take the immature individual seriously, because it is only in terms of his present immaturity that his development can be intelligently guided or directed. Growth at any point in time takes place in terms of what the individual is at that particular time. The school, however, must not take the immature individual too seriously. It can not afford to deify immaturity at the expense of forgetting to give social orientation to the educative process.

IN MY opinion, the Progressive emphasis in modern education is particularly open to the criticism that it does deify immaturity and fails to give sufficient attention to the need of adult direction of the learning process. Many terms currently used in education give point to this criticism. Such phrases as "interest of the learner," "felt needs of the learner," "self-expression," "activity," "child-centered school," and "self-directed school" fail to give adequate recognition to the stake that society has in education. These terms stand for no program and, to the extent that one does not look beyond them for guidance in the conduct of education, they may be expected to lead to chaos.

The particular doctrine of interest which has been fostered by the Progressive Education group probably marks one of the sharpest contrasts between the present-day and the older elementary school. This doctrine of interest, which for obvious reasons tends to be welcomed by the learner, seems to involve at least two very doubtful premises, namely (1) that children's interests are relatively highly specialized at an early age, and (2) that interest, in this specialized sense, is a necessary prior condition for learning.

With respect to the first of these assumptions it seems more reasonable to stress the broad and general character of the child's interests—to view the child as an individual

with innumerable questions about the world in which he lives. With respect to the second assumption, it seems far safer to look upon interest as growing and developing with increased insight and understanding, rather than as the necessary antecedent condition for such insight or understanding.

It was suggested earlier that the formative effect of the community, home, and church is today considerably less than was formerly the case. It would seem that Progressive Education with its extreme emphasis on interest, and the self-direction of pupils in terms of their interests, has not only failed to balance the deficiencies of these other agencies, but rather has aggravated them.

WITH respect to the second deficiency—the absence of socially useful work—the same conclusion seems warranted. It must be admitted that constructive efforts to engage the child in community activities of various sorts may be viewed as, at least in part, an effort to offset the out-of-school deficiency of work experience. The emphasis within the school itself, however, does not seem to be consistent with any such aim. The tendency to choose activities in terms of the interests of children, and the tendency to make play-like in character those elements in education that are less palatable though necessary, has tended in the direction of abolishing the concept of work from the school program. The insistence on pupil interest and pupil choice leads, in the very nature of things, to many difficulties in practice.

There are many stories about the effort

and ingenuity exercised in manipulating situations in such a way that what the teacher may think should be done may appear to be the result of choice on the part of the child, thus, presumably, making the learning process authentically Progressive! But this is essentially dishonest, and to the extent that it is practiced must be viewed as a corrupting experience; it must also tend to confuse the child with respect to the function of the school in society and with respect to his personal relation to the school.

It is admittedly difficult to compensate for the relative lack of out-of-school work experience; this is certainly not achieved by practices which confuse the distinction between work and play. It would seem far better to give the child an opportunity to sense that the school has a serious social purpose and to encourage in the child a sense of responsibility for his own learning.

A LARGE degree of personal freedom is a characteristic of life in a democratic society. It must be remembered, however, that the privilege of freedom is not simply the right to do as one pleases. With privilege goes responsibility, and the natural correlate of freedom is self-discipline. To the extent that modern elementary education fails to exert proper control over the direction taken by the educative process and to the extent that it tends to abolish the concept of work, it neglects education in self-discipline.

According to the present analysis there seems to be ample justification for the criticism that elementary education is too soft.

Extensive Survey Versus Large Units in High School Economics

Caroline E. E. Hartwig

THE usual high school economics course covers a wide range of subjects. In one semester it is not unusual to take up such topics as Our Economic Background; Production; Distribution; Exchange, Money and Banking; Trade and Transportation; Risks in Modern Business; Government Income and Expenditures; Labor Organizations, and many others. A general complaint is that too much has to be covered in one semester and that only the surface of any topic is scratched. Also, quite often the course is a mere simplification of a college economics course.

In the high school division of the University Laboratory School a different policy has been followed. It has long been the practice in the economics course to teach only a few units. Some of these are concerned with problems, others institutions, and still others processes. But the principal policy has been to keep the number of units small and to try to consider each one intensively. This has been criticized as not covering the range of subject matter customarily studied in high school economics, and therefore limiting the pupil's experience with economic matters unduly.

High school courses in economics, in common with other courses, are usually overcrowded. An effort to study a few topics thoroughly is reported by an instructor in social studies in the High School Division of the University of Missouri Laboratory School.

PRETESTS

WHEN the change was first made, standardized tests in economics were given to find whether the pupils' range of economics information and understanding was below established norms. As these regularly showed very slight differences from the established norms, these tests were discontinued for a time. In order to recheck this situation—the specific units studied had changed substantially in the meantime—the class of last year was rechecked.

At the beginning of the semester the Cooperative Economics Test, Form P, of the Cooperative Test Service was given in order to learn how well the pupils would score before taking the course. Fifteen pupils took the test and scores ranged from 2 to 42. The median was 16, the mean was 21.2, and the standard deviation was 13.1. This testing showed that the pupils had some slight knowledge of economics before taking the course.

Also, the IQ's of the pupils on the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability were checked. These ranged from 84 to 149. The median was 109, the mean was 113, and the standard deviation was 17.8. As economics is usually not a required course these IQ's are not unusual.

CONSUMER PROBLEMS

DURING the semester only four units were studied. The first was Problems of the Consumer. This was introduced by having pupils compare the price which the local farmers were getting for their beef with the price which the city dwellers were

paying for meat. This led to an investigation as to the reasons for this difference. This investigation involved both personal interviews and reading in economics texts. Other means could have been used for introducing the unit, but that year half the class came from farms while the other half lived in town so this starting problem was very real to them.

Next the objectives were set up. These were (1) to appreciate the importance of the family as an economic as well as a social institution; (2) to be aware of the various standards of living in America and also to be aware of the general and particular reasons why standards shift; (3) to be aware of the complex economic life which society has built up in order to satisfy our wants; (4) to consider one's self as sharing in the economic well-being of the home; (5) to be intelligent in the use of the budget for individuals and for families; (6) to be cognizant of the difficulties confronting consumers; and (7) to be aware of the aids, both governmental and private, which may be used in becoming more intelligent consumers.

This was followed by a period of reading from textbooks, magazines, and pamphlets. In order to give further direction to the reading pupils were told to read until they could change a topical outline of the unit into an informational outline. The outline used was as follows:

- I. Changes in the function of the home in production and consumption
- II. Standards of living and why they fluctuate
- III. Our dependence as consumers on a complex economic life
- IV. Budgeting
 - A. A family problem
 - B. An individual problem
- V. Difficulties confronting the consumer
 - A. Advertising
 - B. Selling practices
 - C. Chain stores, cooperatives, or independent merchants
 - D. Instalment buying
 - E. Buying on credit
 - F. Socialization of medicine
- VI. Governmental agencies of help to the consumer
- VII. Private agencies of help to the consumer
- VIII. Consumer self help

IT IS impossible to state exactly what references were used. Along with the usual economics textbooks pupils had access to Brindze, *How to Spend Money*,¹ Brindze, *Johnny, Get Your Money's Worth*,² Chase and Schlink, *Your Money's Worth*,³ Friend, *Earning and Spending the Family Income*,⁴ Kallet and Schlink, *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*,⁵ Phillips, *Skin Deep*,⁶ Trilling, Everhart, and Nicholas, *When You Buy*.⁷

Valuable pamphlet material is legion. Useful Public Affairs Pamphlets⁸ are *Income and Economic Progress*; *Doctors, Dollars, and Disease*; *How We Spend Our Money*; *Can America Build Houses?* *Your Income and Mine*; *Our Taxes and What They Buy*; *Cooperatives in the United States*; *This Problem of Food*; *Loan Sharks and Their Victims*; *Chain Stores—Pro and Con*.

The Building America pamphlets⁹ include: *We Consumers*, *Housing*, *Health*, *Food*, *Power*, and *Clothing*.

Other organizations of aid to consumers are: Consumer's Research¹⁰ which issues some non-confidential bulletins and *Consumer's Digest*, Consumers Union¹¹ which issues reports, the American Medical Association¹² which issues *Hygeia*, the American Home Economics Association¹³ which publishes *Household Purchasing* and *Consumer Buying*, the American Association of University Women¹⁴ which publishes *Scientific Consumer Purchasing*, the Co-operative League of the U.S.A.¹⁵ which

¹ New York: Vanguard, 1935.

² New York: Vanguard, 1938.

³ New York: Macmillan, 1931.

⁴ New York: Appleton Century, 1930.

⁵ New York: Vanguard, 1933.

⁶ New York: Garden City, 1934.

⁷ Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938.

⁸ New York: Silver Burdett.

⁹ Milwaukee: E. H. Hale (now New York: Americana).

¹⁰ Washington, New Jersey.

¹¹ 55 Vandam Street, New York.

¹² 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago.

¹³ 617 Mills Building, Washington.

¹⁴ 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington.

¹⁵ 167 West 12th Street, New York.

publishes *Consumers' Cooperation*, and the National Association of Manufacturers¹⁶ which publishes series of pamphlets called *You and Your Industries*.

Discussions. Too much reading becomes monotonous so at various times the divisions of the outline were discussed. For example questions taken up on Topic III were: Why do manufacturers engage in business? How do goods get from the producer to the consumer? Why are the costs of distribution increasing? What services are performed by storekeepers for consumers? What influences cause prices to fluctuate? Why do two merchants charge different prices for the same goods? How do purchasers increase costs by their buying habits?

Activities. The pupils also were given a list of activities from which to choose what they would like to do. These activities included interviews, reports, letters, editorials, mathematical problems, investigation of costs, graphic representations, posters, making of lists, arranging for talks from people not connected with the school, and making of budgets. All phases of the topical outline were covered by these activities.

For example, under governmental agencies of help to consumers these were listed:

1. Make a report on the work of the pure food and drug administration. Examine copies of the "Notices of Judgment under the Pure Food and Drug Act." Summarize the kind of offenses which are not allowed and the penalties assessed for violations of the law. What conclusions do you reach?

2. Make a graphic representation of the steps by which milk finally arrives in the hands of the consumer and show the ways in which various governmental agencies are involved.

About the same procedure was followed for the other three units. At the end of each unit an objective test was given.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

THE second unit studied was Economic Nationalism versus World Trade. This unit was the most difficult of the four and the most challenging to the better pupils.

The outline used for this unit was:

- I. The benefits of world trade
 - A. Interdependence of all nations
 - B. America's relative self-sufficiency
 - C. America's dependence on international trade
 1. Chief exports
 2. Chief imports
 - D. Principle behind international trade
- II. How world trade works
 - A. Foreign exchange
 1. Purpose
 2. Use of gold to settle net differences
 - B. Balance of trade
 1. Favorable
 2. Unfavorable
 3. Visible items
 4. Invisible items
 - C. Export and import of capital
 1. Reasons
 2. Exporting nations
 3. Importing nations
- III. Economic Nationalism and how it develops
 - A. Population concentration and growth
 - B. Possession or non-possession of resources
 - C. Development of large-scale production
 - D. Fusion of economics and politics
- IV. America's position in connection with world trade
 - A. Trends in American foreign trade to 1929
 - B. Situation since 1929
- V. Methods of economic nationalism
 - A. Tariffs
 - B. Restrictions on imports and exports
 - C. Manipulation of currency
 1. Inflation
 2. Deflation
 - D. Bounties or subsidies
 - E. Regulation of production or consumption within a country
 - F. Promotion of substitutes for articles not produced in a country
 - G. Colonialism
 - H. Development of large armies
 - I. War
 - J. Economic sanctions
- VI. Effect of policy of economic nationalism
 - A. On farmers
 - B. On seaports
 - C. On owners of industries
 - D. On labor
 - E. On consumers
 - F. On governmental activities
- VII. Results of a policy of free trade
 - A. On farmers
 - B. On owners of industries
 - C. On labor
 - D. On consumers
 - E. On our relations with foreign countries

¹⁶ 14 West 49th Street, New York.

VIII. Summary and realistic facing of facts

- A. Impossibility of complete nationalism or internationalism
- B. Need for world market analysis
- C. Advantages and disadvantages of a middle course
- D. International conferences a matter of jockeying for advantages
- E. The Foreign Policy Association.

Economics texts were used, but again books and pamphlets were used in order to get both sides of controversial issues. Pupils had access to Crowthers, *America Self Contained*;¹⁷ Crowthers, *A Primer*;¹⁸ Garrett, *A Bubble that Broke the World*;¹⁹ Patterson, *The Economic Bases of Peace*;²⁰ Peck and Crowthers, *Why Quit Our Own*;²¹ Rogers, *America Weighs Her Gold*;²² Simonds and Emeny, *The Great Powers in World Politics*;²³ Huberman, *Man's Worldly Goods*.²⁴

Useful pamphlets published by the Foreign Policy Association²⁵ are: *America Must Choose*; *America Contradicts Herself*; *Battles Without Bullets*; *Bricks Without Mortar*; *Changing Governments*; *The Good Neighbors*; *In Quest of Empire*; *The Peace that Failed*; *Shadow Over Europe*. The Public Affairs Committee²⁶ publishes *Colonies, Trade and Prosperity*.

AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

SOME of the pupils of the Laboratory School are rural children with limited financial resources while others come from homes of adequate family income. In order to bring about a better understanding between these two groups the Farmer's Economic Problems was the third unit studied.

An abbreviated outline of this unit follows:

- I. The history of the farm problem
- II. Saving our soil
- III. Farmers without land
- IV. The economic status of Southern agriculture
- V. The agricultural program under the New Deal
- VI. Problems of population
- VII. The farmer and world trade

Books of use for this unit were: Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*;²⁷ Caldwell and Bourke-White, *You Have Seen Their Faces*;²⁸ Huberman, *Man's Worldly Goods*;²⁹ Johnson, Embree, and Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*;³⁰ Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules*.³¹

Public Affairs Pamphlets³² of value are: *Saving Our Soil*, *Farmers Without Land*, *The South's Place in the Nation*, *Farm Policies Under the New Deal*.

CAPITAL AND LABOR

THE last unit, which was treated rather sketchily because of the limitation of time, was Problems of Capital and Labor. Although Columbia is primarily an educational center, it has, along with the usual retail stores and banks, a milling company, coal mines, and a small clothing factory. These served as the examples of industrial activity in the local community.

The abbreviated outline used was:

- I. Labor as a factor in production
- II. Capital as a factor in production
- III. Large scale production
 - A. Types of industry
 - B. Forms of combination
 - C. Anti-trust legislative enactments
- IV. Labor organizations and their weapons
- V. The government's attitude toward capital and labor

As usual numerous economics texts were used; also Brooks, *When Labor Organizes*.³³ Useful pamphlets were those pub-

¹⁷ Garden City, New York: Doubleday Doran, 1933.

¹⁸ 654 Madison Avenue, New York: Chemical Foundation, 1934.

¹⁹ Boston: Little Brown, 1932.

²⁰ New York: Whittlesey House, 1939.

²¹ New York: Van Nostrand, 1936.

²² New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1931.

²³ New York: American Book, 1935, 1940.

²⁴ New York: Harper, 1936.

²⁵ New York: Silver Burdett.

²⁶ New York: Silver Burdett.

²⁷ New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1920.

²⁸ New York: Viking, 1937.

²⁹ New York: Harper, 1936.

³⁰ Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1935.

³¹ Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1938.

³² New York: Silver Burdett.

³³ New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1937.

lished by the Public Affairs Committee³⁴ such as *Income and Economic Progress*, *Labor on New Fronts*, *Industrial Price Policies*, and *Why Women Work*, and the one on *Strikes* published by the General Education Board of the American Council on Education.³⁵ Of the Building America pamphlets,³⁶ useful issues are *Men and Machines*, *Labor*, and *Business*.

EVALUATION

AT THE end of the semester the pupils were again given the Cooperative Economics Test, Form P, of the Cooperative Test Service. The results of this final test and a comparison of these scores with the norms established by Anderson and Lindquist are given below.

Final Scores on Cooperative Economics Test, Form P.
for Experimental Pupils and Pupils Reported
by Anderson and Lindquist

	Experimental Pupils	Anderson and Lindquist Pupils
Number	15	600
Mean	30.73	29.2
Sigma	13.9	13.7
Median	32	27.7
Range	10-56	0-64

³⁴ New York: Silver Burdett.

³⁵ Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1935.

³⁶ Milwaukee: E. H. Hale (now New York: Americana).

An examination of this table shows that this experimental group scored slightly better than the norms established by Anderson and Lindquist, but the difference was not significant. The experimental mean of 30.73 as compared with the norm of 29.2 is a matter of chance.

The experimental median of 32 as compared with the norm of 27.7 is slightly larger but still not significantly greater.

The standard deviation is 13.9 for the experimental pupils; that is, approximately 68 per cent of the pupils scored between 16.83 and 44.63. For the pupils tested by Anderson and Lindquist the standard deviation was 13.7; that is, approximately 68 per cent of these pupils scored between 15.5 and 42.9.

From our experience it appears that there is no real need for high school pupils to cover a whole range of economic topics in order to score satisfactorily on a standardized economics test. An intensive treatment of a few topics results in equally high test scores on the whole field of economics. Pupils are able to make a leisurely but more thorough study of the topics they do take up, and they leave the course feeling they know how to approach any other economics topic in which they may be interested.

Pamphlets on Social Problems: Part I

Mary P. Keohane and Maure Goldschmidt

ANY bibliography of pamphlet materials in the social studies must be selective. Since the term pamphlet may be applied to any paper-covered printed product, and little that is of interest in contemporary life is not in some sense related to the social studies, the mere listing of all relevant titles would be a formidable task. In addition, such a list, including leaflets of the most transient and trivial interest, would be of little practical value to the teacher.

This bibliography is limited to pamphlets meeting the following criteria:

1. *Mechanical criteria.* No pamphlet of less than ten pages is listed. This rule excludes the leaflet or handbill type of literature. No pamphlets priced at more than fifty cents are included, as more expensive pamphlets are,

Social Education is fortunate to secure for publication a critically annotated bibliography of pamphlets on social problems which was prepared at the expense of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals under the direction of Paul B. Jacobson, principal of the University High School, University of Chicago. The original bibliography was compiled by Mrs. Keohane and Dr. Goldschmidt. Since then Mrs. Keohane assumed full responsibility for bringing the list up to date and preparing it for publication. The introduction and the first instalment of the bibliography are in this issue; the remaining instalments will appear in November and December.

for school-purchasing purposes, equivalent to books. Pamphlets reviewed bear copyrights of 1938 or later. For earlier publications, the teacher is referred to Bulletin No. 8 of the National Council for the Social Studies, *Pamphlets on Public Affairs for Use in Social Studies Classes*, and Bulletin 1937, No. 3 of the United States Office of Education, *Public Affairs Pamphlets*, with Supplements 1 and 2.

2. *Subject matter.* The subject matter of every pamphlet reviewed deals with some phase of a practical social problem, as described by Louis Wirth: "A practical problem may be said to arise when an existing situation diverges from a situation which is preferred in accordance with certain values."¹ It was found necessary, however, to exclude extremely specific material, even when that had a bearing on some practical problem. Descriptions of specific national parks and annual reports of cities might, for example, be included as relevant to the problems of recreation and municipal administration, yet it would obviously be impossible to list all such materials within a limited space.

3. *Difficulty.* This bibliography is limited to materials readable by secondary school students. It is recognized that this covers a wide range of reading ability, from the retarded seventh-grade student to the advanced senior. Vocabulary, clearness of style, the concrete or abstract nature of the writing, and assumptions of informational background on the part of the reader all help to determine difficulty.

4. *Factual content.* No pamphlet is included unless it contains a modicum of factual content. This excludes materials almost exclusively opinion, as, for example, campaign attacks on opposing candidates.

5. Periodicals and reports of radio programs are not included.

¹ Louis Wirth, ed., *Contemporary Social Problems* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 4.

Even with the strictest application of these standards, the number of pamphlets proved far too great for the space available. We chose for inclusion, therefore, those which promise to prove of most value to the teacher. An occasional exception was made in favor of an inferior publication so widely distributed that familiarity with its content and style seems desirable.

PAMPHLET SERIES

FAMILIARITY with the leading pamphlet series is perhaps more valuable than any soon-outdated bibliography can be. A card to the publishers, requesting information on additions to their pamphlet series as they occur, will enable the teacher to utilize transient materials while their interest is current and their content up to date. The following pamphlet series are worth checking:

Council for Democracy, 285 Madison Ave., New York, *Democracy in Action*. 10 cents each. Competently prepared, clearly written, readable for eleventh or twelfth grade and sometimes for lower grades.

Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Ave., New York, *Social Action*. Ten copies published a year: single copies 15 cents each; annual subscription \$1.00. These vary a good deal in style and quality. Some are so definitely written from a church viewpoint that they are of little interest to many high school students. Others are of great value to the secular teacher.

Foreign Policy Association, *Headline Books*. (Order from Silver Burdett Co., 45 East 17th St., New York.) 25 cents each. Decidedly the best series of pamphlets on foreign affairs. Eleventh and twelfth grades. Also published by the Foreign Policy Association are the *World Affairs Pamphlets*, somewhat more difficult, but scholarly; 25 cents each.

League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York, *L.I.D. Pamphlet Series*. 15 cents each. Edited from the socialist angle, but in most cases the factual material is prepared by competent scholars and is sufficiently reliable. A few are too difficult for high school reading but most are suitable for seniors.

National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th St., New York, *You and Industry*. Free. Written to support a definite viewpoint as to the proper relation of government and business. Usually readable for senior high school students though the style is frequently dull and abstract.

National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., *Christian Democracy* series and *Social Action* series. 5 cents each. Represent the liberal Catholic viewpoint, and based on competent scholarship. Since each problem is approached from the standpoint of Church teach-

ing on the subject, the pamphlets are of little practical value for non-Catholic schools and are therefore not reviewed.

National Consumers' Tax Commission, 310 South Michigan Ave., Chicago. Publishes a series of free pamphlets on the broader aspects of taxation, including economical methods of municipal administration. In most cases the material is submitted for approval to some outstanding and unbiased expert in the field. Well-written in a clear style usually interesting to high school seniors.

North Central Association of Schools and Colleges, *Unit Studies in American Problems*. (Order from Ginn and Co., Statler Building, Park Square, Boston.) 48 cents each. Longer than most pamphlets and particularly designed for secondary school use, with teaching aids, bibliographies, and so forth. Senior high school level.

Society for Curriculum Study, *Building America*. (Order from Americana Corporation, 2 West 45th St., New York.) Single copies, 30 cents each; \$2.00 for annual set of eight. The only series recommended for junior high school use. The outstanding merit of *Building America* lies in the excellent photographs so chosen and arranged as to tell a story almost without the addition of text.

Public Affairs Committee, *Public Affairs Pamphlets*. (Order from Silver Burdett Co., 45 East 17th St., New York.) 10 cents each. The best single set of pamphlets available, based on first-rate source materials, carefully edited, written in a clear and sometimes sparkling style, almost always highly readable for high school juniors and seniors.

World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, *America Looks Ahead*. 25 cents each. Only three of these pamphlets, dealing with the relations of the United States with Canada, Australia, and Latin America, respectively, had been published by August, 1941. These include some excellent material but are marred for high school use by the heavy style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ORGANIZATION

THE condensed form of the bibliographical data and annotations which follow is designed to achieve compactness without sacrificing clarity. The "Illus." annotation is omitted for unillustrated pamphlets. Nearly all items may be secured at substantial discounts for quantities. Most pamphlet publishers require that small orders be prepaid.

The number of pamphlets included in this selected list is too extensive to permit complete publication in one issue of *Social Education*. Accordingly, the list will be continued in subsequent issues. Topics here dealt with relate to national defense and international relations. All remaining topics will concern domestic problems.

National Defense

Aircraft Production and National Defense (America in a World at War), by T. P. Wright. Farrar and Rinehart, 232 Madison Ave., N.Y. 1941. 32p. 10¢.

Content: progress of aircraft production to date; plans for the future.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* author, Assistant Chief of Aircraft Section, OPM. *Timeliness:* current. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* graphs.

America Rearms (Headline Books), by W. T. Stone. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1941. 61p. 25¢.

Content: needs, status, and prospects of national defense; vital zones of defense; mobilizing industry.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* current. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* pictographs.

Defending America (World Affairs Pams.), by G. F. Eliot. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1939. 33p. 25¢.

Content: relation of foreign and military policies; American military position in post-Munich world; American military and naval strategy; recommended size of armed forces.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* author a student of military affairs. *Timeliness:* relatively permanent. *Readability:* sr. h. s.

Defense and the Consumer (Public Affairs Pams.), by Institute for Consumer Education. Public Affairs Committee (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1941. 29p. 10¢.

Content: importance of maintaining consumption standards during defense emergency; resources of United States; consumer problems in defense areas; functions of the Consumer Division of the NDAC.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* relatively permanent. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* cartoons; graph; chart.

Financing Defense (Democracy in Action Series, No. 4). Council for Democracy, 285 Madison Ave., N.Y. 1941. 34p. 10¢.

Content: costs of defense; dangers of inflation; borrowing vs. taxation to finance defense.

Object: to inform and influence public opinion in favor of a financing program approved by leading experts. *Reliability:* highly competent. *Timeliness:* current. *Readability:* seniors with economics-government background. *Illus.:* drawings.

How Shall We Pay for Defense? (Public Affairs Pams.), by M. S. Stewart. Public Affairs Committee (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1941. 31p. 10¢.

Content: ways of increasing defense production; borrowing to finance defense; taxing to finance defense;

methods of controlling inflation; control of raw materials; deferred wages; rationing; price fixing.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* relatively permanent while war threatens. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* pictorial statistics.

If War Comes: Mobilizing Machines and Men (Public Affairs Pams.), by P. W. Bidwell. Public Affairs Committee (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) rev., 1941. 32p. 10¢.

Content: industrial mobilization essential to defense; government's M-Day plans; propaganda; censorship.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* for defense program duration. *Readability:* sr. h. s. though difficult in parts. *Illus.:* pictorial statistics.

Ships and Men (Building America). Society for Curriculum Study (Americana Corp., 2 W. 45th St., N.Y.) 1940. 32p. 30¢.

Content: American merchant marine before the World War; the first World War; deterioration during inter-war period; problems and policies of our merchant marine.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* good for a year or two. *Readability:* jr. h. s. *Illus.:* many excellent photos.

International Trade

American Labor and the Trade Agreements, by J. W. Tereny. Economic Policy Committee, Fleming Building, Des Moines, Iowa. 1939? 29p. 10¢.

Content: effects of our tariff policy; Trade Agreements Act; how labor profits from it.

Object: to inform and influence attitudes. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* parts outdated by war. *Readability:* better seniors.

Battles Without Bullets (Headline Books), by Thomas Brockway. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1939. 96p. 25¢.

Content: description of current international trade practices; comparisons with previous period; importance of raw materials; relations between economic war and real war.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* somewhat out of date because of war; much still useful. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* pictorial statistics.

The Hull Trade Program and the American System (World Affairs Pams.), by R. L. Buell. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1938. 45p. 25¢.

Content: effects of protectionism on American economy; description of trade agreements program and its achievements; how a trade agreement is made.

Object: to inform and influence attitudes. *Reliability:*

ity: competent. *Timeliness*: somewhat outdated by war. *Readability*: teachers; better seniors.

This Shrinking World, by Eugene Staley. World Citizens Assoc., 84 E. Randolph St., Chicago. 1940. 56p. free.

Content: summary of technological trends leading in direction of unified world-wide economic system; political obstacles to such unification; strains produced by conflict between technology and politics.

Object: to inform. *Reliability*: competent. *Timeliness*: relatively permanent. *Readability*: style clear, concrete; seniors; some juniors. *Illus.*: charts, maps.

We Travel though We Stay at Home, by U. P. Hubbard. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 W. 117th St., N.Y. 5 pams. 1938, mimeographed. 25¢ plus postage per set if quantity ordered; one set sent free.

Content (each topic illustrates interdependence): No. 1, The World on Wheels (automobile); No. 2, The Ties that Bind (clothing, textiles); No. 3, Foreign Trade and the Pantry Shelf (food); No. 4, Foreign Footprints in the Home (household furnishings); No. 5, Machine Age in America (telephone, radio, machinery). This series really does a job many authors attempt less successfully; it teaches what world interdependence means in our time. This is done by giving actual concrete factual stories about familiar articles. For example, what goes into automobiles? To what extent (actual percentages given) do American car manufacturers depend on imports of chromium, copper, nickel, tungsten? Where do they come from? Where are our cars sold? How do trade restrictions affect the automobile industry? Excellent bibliographies.

Object: to inform and influence attitudes. *Reliability*: competent. *Timeliness*: relatively permanent. *Readability*: sr. h. s.

International Organization

The Essence of Union Now. Inter-Democracy Federal Unionists, 445 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 1940. 81p. 25¢.

Content: the union proposal; union contrasted with a league, alliances, isolation; inter-democracy union compared with Federal Union of the United States; advantages of union; practical steps for attaining it.

Object: to influence attitudes. *Reliability*: factual basis reliable. *Timeliness*: out of date in detail; interesting indefinitely for central idea. *Readability*: adults; better seniors.

Nations—Conflict and Cooperation, by S. and J. Raushenbush. Council for Social Action, 289 4th Ave., N.Y. 1938. 30p. 10¢.

Content: present scene; contributions of League of Nations to international public health work, drug control, social work, aid to refugees, transportation problems, intellectual cooperation, labor problems.

Object: to inform. *Reliability*: competent. *Time-*

liness: outdated by war. *Readability*: parts for jr. h. s.; all for sr. h. s.

The Peace that Failed (Headline Books), by Varian Fry. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1939. 96p. 25¢.

Content: survey of causes of war since World War I; possibilities for future; return to principles of League; the United States of Europe; analysis of alternative plans for international organization; more "balance of power" wars?

Object: to inform. *Reliability*: competent. *Timeliness*: relatively permanent. *Readability*: sr. h. s.; well written in simple, popular vein. *Illus.*: cartoons; pictorial statistics; map.

United States Foreign Policy

Can America Stay Neutral? (Building America) Society for Curriculum Study (Americana Corp., 2 W. 45th St., N.Y.) 1940. 31p. 30¢.

Content: history of our foreign policies; preparedness measures; Pan-American relations.

Object: to inform. *Reliability*: doubtful in parts due to viewpoint. *Timeliness*: temporary due to shifting of international scene. *Readability*: text difficult for jr. h. s.; illus. usable; text alone quite unreadable even for sr. h. s. *Illus.*: excellent, but, due to subject matter, less effective in carrying information.

Friends or Enemies, by J. W. Pratt. Univer. of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago. rev., 1939. 72p. 25¢.

Content: our concern with other nations; the League of Nations; World Court; arbitration; disarmament; neutrality; American foreign policy; the present issue.

Object: to inform. *Reliability*: competent. *Timeliness*: somewhat outdated as result of war; much of relatively permanent interest. *Readability*: sr. h. s. subject matter; jr. h. s. vocabulary. *Illus.*: original cartoon-sketches, clever, pointed.

Isolationist Illusion and World Peace (America in a World at War), by J. P. Warburg. Farrar and Rinehart, 232 Madison Ave., N.Y. 1941. 32p. 10¢.

Content: isolation cannot succeed in keeping United States at peace; need of an international order.

Object: to show fallacies in isolationist position. *Reliability*: competent presentation. *Timeliness*: current. *Readability*: better seniors.

War or Peace (Building America) Society for Curriculum Study (Americana Corp., 2 W. 45th St., N.Y.) 1938. 31p. 30¢.

Content: the World War; peace efforts; American wars.

Object: to inform. *Reliability*: competent. *Timeliness*: somewhat out of date. *Readability*: very condensed; expressions often meaningless to sr. h. s. students without history-government background. *Illus.*: excellent photographs.

The Americas

Canada and the United States (America Looks Ahead), by F. R. Scott. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1941. 84p. 25¢.

Content: comparison of resources, trade, politics; diplomatic relations; joint defense problems.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* relatively permanent. *Readability:* sr. h. s.

Challenge to the Americas (Headline Books), by J. I. B. McCulloch. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, N.Y.) 1941. 61p. 25¢.

Content: Nazi activities in the Americas; Pan-Americanism and alternatives; hemisphere defense.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* current. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* pictographs.

Economic Defense of Latin America (America Looks Ahead), by P. W. Bidwell. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 1941. 94p. 25¢.

Content: the war and the Monroe Doctrine; Nazi propaganda; hemisphere self-sufficiency.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* current. *Readability:* difficult for seniors.

Mexico in Transition (L.I.D. Pam. Series), by Clarence Senior. League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St., N.Y. 1939. 54p. 15¢.

Content: history, Diaz to Cardenas; land, labor, education, church and state, imperialism; the future.

Object: to inform and influence attitudes. *Reliability:* appears reliable. *Timeliness:* temporary. *Readability:* teachers; better seniors.

The Monroe Doctrine Today (America in a World at War), by Grayson Kirk. Farrar and Rinehart, Madison Ave., N.Y. 1941. 32p. 10¢.

Content: evolution, present status, and future.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* until our foreign policy changes drastically. *Readability:* educated adults; advanced seniors.

Our Latin-American Neighbors (Building America). Society for Curriculum Study (Americana Corp., N.Y.) 1939. 32p. 30¢.

Content: history, culture, land use, industries, labor conditions, trade, relations with United States.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* much relatively permanent. *Readability:* sr. h. s.; will do for jr. h. s. because of pictures. *Illus.:* excellent pictures offering overview of subject.

Our Northern Neighbors (Building America). Society for Curriculum Study (Americana Corp., 2 W. 45th St., N.Y.) 1941. 31p. 30¢.

Content: geography, economy, and institutions of Canada; Canadian-United States relations.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeli-*

ness: relatively permanent. *Readability:* jr. h. s. *Illus.:* photos, maps, charts.

Pan-Americanism: Can We Win It? by H. C. Herring. Council for Social Action, 289 4th Ave., N.Y. 1939. 39p. 15¢.

Content: geographical influences on Latin America; trade, government, religion, education, social patterns.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* relatively permanent. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* map.

The Far East

American Policy in the Pacific (Defense Digest Series). American Assoc. for Adult Educ., 60 E. 42nd St., N.Y. 1940. 14p. 10¢.

Content: background of present Pacific crisis; alternatives offered by isolation or international action.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* soon outdated. *Readability:* sr. h. s.

Australia and the United States (America Looks Ahead). World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1941. 68p. 25¢.

Content: cultural, political, strategic, economic relations; prospects for future cooperation.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* relatively permanent; largely historical. *Readability:* educated adults; some seniors.

Shadow over Asia (Headline Books), T. A. Bisson. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, 45 E. 17th St., N.Y.) 1941. 96p. 25¢.

Content: Japan: ancient and modern; Japanese foreign policy and internal organization since 1918.

Object: to inform. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* historical; relatively permanent. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* pictographs.

Showdown in the Orient (World Affairs Pams.), by T. A. Bisson. Foreign Policy Assoc. (Silver Burdett, N.Y.) 1940. 48p. 25¢.

Content: analysis of progress of war in China; new Japanese policy vs. "open door"; policies of Great Powers in Far East; possibilities of a settlement.

Object: to inform and influence attitudes. *Reliability:* competent. *Timeliness:* somewhat outdated as result of Japanese expansion southward; still quite useful. *Readability:* teachers; best seniors. *Illus.:* map.

Toward a Peaceful Pacific, by Douglas Horton. Council for Social Action, 289 4th Ave., N.Y. 1940. 15¢.

Content: causes of Sino-Japanese war; how Americans might end the war; missionaries as agents of goodwill.

Object: to inform and influence attitudes. *Reliability:* good on facts; much is opinion. *Timeliness:* as long as Far Eastern situation continues. *Readability:* sr. h. s. *Illus.:* pictorial statistics.

Have You Read?

Wilbur F. Murra

GERMANY'S attack on Russia was without question the prime news event of the summer. In its wake came an avalanche of press and periodical comment designed to interpret its significance. The interpretations varied from one another fantastically. But they all agreed in stressing the epochal importance of the Soviet-Nazi clash at arms, "the greatest battle in history."

Nearly everything written before June 22 on the course of the war was rendered out of date by the event of that day, when Hitler opened hostilities on the eastern front. Thus, the July magazines came off the press with absurd articles which had been faithfully written in May, telling of Russian help to Germany and predicting the outbreak of war between the U. S. S. R. and the British Empire! The August *Atlantic Monthly* appeared about July 20 with something of a scoop for a monthly—an appraisal of the effect of the Russo-German clash on the course of the war. The article was written by Captain William D. Puleston (a navy man, whose *Armed Forces of the Pacific* has just been released by the Yale University Press). Captain Puleston, refusing to be unduly impressed with the long-range importance of the great battle, insisted that neither the defeat of Russia nor the capture of Suez could win the war for the Nazis. He declared that only in Great Britain could the critical battle be fought.

The new alignment of military forces obliged the experts to make fresh surveys of the relative positions and potentialities of the antagonists. In the September *Atlantic* William Henry Chamberlin views Russia's chances pessimistically, but in the same issue Douglas Miller is equally contemptu-

ous of Nazi power. Mr. Miller cites the diminishing reserves of the Nazis in basic resources and trained personnel before concluding that "from now on Hitler is on the down grade." A pair of articles in the September *American Mercury* present the same divergence of emphasis: Freda Utley declares that the tyranny of Stalin's regime has so weakened Russia that it can not long resist, but Otto Strasser says with equal conviction that Germany can not win because her morale is cracking—and that the lowering morale can not be bolstered because it is rooted in the "bad conscience of the German people."

The relative qualities of German and Russian morale are hotly debated by many writers, all of whom agree that the morale factor is of the greatest importance. Freda Utley says that the indifferent loyalty of the Russian people will prevent them from waging guerilla warfare after the Red Army is pushed back. Exactly opposite assertions are made in the *New Republic* by Edgar Snow (issue of July 14) and John Scott (issue of September 1). Evidence as to the alleged high morale of the Soviets is suggested by the editors of *Time and Tide*. In the July 26 issue of that London weekly, it is noted that no radio propaganda out of Germany is directed to the Russian people. This is interpreted as a Nazi admission that their communist adversaries are not susceptible.

THE WAR AS REVOLUTION

AMERICAN intellectuals are much agitated over the question of whether or not the present world upheaval is a "revolution." To a certain extent much of the discussion is a mere quibble over terminology. But fundamentally there is a

real issue at stake. Is the social and economic structure of the western world being basically transformed by the rearrangements of political and economic power which have been instituted in European totalitarian states and spread across the continent by the force of arms? Is liberal democracy in Great Britain, the British dominions, and the United States undergoing a corresponding transformation as it struggles to meet the fascist challenge?

That we are in the midst of a revolution is denied by many. It is denied by persons of a conservative bent who fondly hope that the end of the war will return the *status quo ante*. It is denied by orthodox Marxists, who recognize no revolution but *the* revolution. It is denied by many liberals and democrats to whom the concept of revolution is abhorrent and whose faith in the eventual, gradual, and peaceful triumph of liberal democracy compels them to regard any interruption in their program as a temporary aberration, a reaction not a revolution.

THOSE who insist that a world revolution is now in progress differ greatly among themselves as to its nature. Some writers say that nazism and fascism are indeed revolutionary movements, in their restricted fields of action, and insist that the revolutions will be quelled in the event of British victory in the present war and will become world-wide (or at least hemisphere-wide) in the event of British defeat. Some who hold this view forecast no substantial modification in the capitalist democracies if they successfully withstand the fascist revolt; others emphasize that the *real* revolution will be the "counterrevolutionary" democratic uprising which will be provoked by the threat and defeat of the anti-democratic powers.

The more radical and original thinkers who are most urgently concerned with the war-and-revolution question have in common a conviction that the world is at this very moment undergoing a change so dras-

tic that it can only be called a revolution, world-wide and more or less inexorable. Their picture of the "new order" is usually marked by some form of collectivism and by various blendings of politics and economics. Of the many names which could be mentioned, we shall confine our attention to four: Anne Lindbergh, Lawrence Dennis, M. W. Fodor, and James Burnham.

MRS. LINDBERGH'S thesis of the "wave of the future" is too well-known to need repeating. Her "Reaffirmation" in the June *Atlantic* was essentially what its title proclaimed, although she weakened somewhat and was obliged to strain her metaphor by saying that she hoped man could "ride" the wave and "guide" it and not lie prostrate on the beach.

Lawrence Dennis, in his *Dynamics of War and Revolution* (The Weekly Foreign Letter, 1940), is frankly pro-fascist and declares that totalitarianism is destined to be the world-wide revolution of our generation. Mr. Dennis gets into the magazines chiefly as the favorite whipping boy of the liberals.

M. W. Fodor (*The Revolution Is On*, Houghton Mifflin, 1940) takes a different perspective from the others. He says that we are indeed in a revolution, that it began in 1917, that it will be "the same long-drawn-out process as was the French Revolution" (which he dates 1789-1848), and that the recent developments in Germany, Italy, and Japan are counterrevolutions but nevertheless integral parts of the revolution itself—just as Napoleon was a counterrevolutionary eddy temporarily ascendant during a part of the French Revolution. Mr. Fodor summarizes his thesis in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for July.

James Burnham has contributed the most striking and complete analysis of all. His is at the same time the most specific and most theoretical; for he aspires to nothing less than the formulation of an all-embrac-

ing "system" on a scale comparable to Marx, Spengler, and Sorokin. His book, *The Managerial Revolution: What Is Happening in the World* (John Day, 1941) is summarized in a 180-page article in the May-June issue of the *Partisan Review*. Mr. Burnham repudiates the view that our only alternatives are "socialism" and "capitalism." He asserts that we are even now in the midst of a revolution which is replacing capitalism with "managerial society." The real rulers in the new order are neither the politicians nor the capitalists, but the "managers"—technicians, production executives, and governmental bureaucrats, the men who actually know how to control production but who rarely own the instruments thereof. The managers can "exploit" both the owners and the workers and direct production to their own ends, which may or may not be "profits" and which are often war. Mr. Burnham deftly fits into his theory the Russian bureaucracy, the Fascist elite, and the New Deal. The interpretation is provocative, to say the least.

WHAT WILL PEACE BRING?

WITH less urge for transcendent analysis and long-range prophecy than is possessed by those who theorize on the nature of the present "revolution," many other students of world affairs are deeply concerned with the probable outcomes of the war in concrete terms. Commenting on the proliferation of plans "for doing over the world when the war is over," the editors of *Harper's* in their July number state that "these plans have ranged all the way from apocalyptic exhortations to tabulated lists of natural resources. But one feature is common to most, if not all, of these blueprints: they show a sublime disregard for the facts of life, the economic jams that preceded the present conflict, and the sort of wreckage that the world planners will have to deal with." The editors remark that they rejected at least a hundred unsolicited manuscripts and then turned to one of their regular contributors,

C. Hartley Grattan, and asked him to write up the subject. This he did for the July issue, under the title "There'll Be Some Changes Made."

Mr. Grattan appears to be little concerned with the political problem. He begins by surveying the relative wealth of the nations. He finds that nations which export raw materials are characteristically poor and that exporters of manufactures are correspondingly rich. He then reviews the past 150 years of history to see how present conditions came about and finds the secret in the geographically uneven development of technology. After the internationalization of technology came the nationalization of market controls. The impasse in world organization today, says Mr. Grattan, is the result of trying to carry on international trade on the basis of nineteenth-century assumptions. The central problem of any stable new world order is held to be the raising of living standards. Toward this end, Mr. Grattan recommends that: (1) Advanced nations must concentrate on raising living standards by an expansion of the production of services—not agriculture or industry. (2) Poor nations should be encouraged to industrialize. (3) Opening of new areas to the production of raw materials and foodstuffs should not be permitted except when demand is clearly evident.

The post-war relationships between economically advanced and economically backward countries is also the concern of Albert Viton in two articles: one in *Foreign Affairs* for July and one in *Asia* for August. Unlike Mr. Grattan, however, Professor Viton is primarily concerned with the problem of political organization. After admitting that independence for backward colonial peoples is as yet neither feasible nor desirable, he says that many of the functions of "imperialism" will need to be continued—but without the evils of the past. As a "democratic solution" for the problem he proposes the overhauling and strengthening of the mandate system that was estab-

lished in 1919 with the League of Nations. This time he would have a much stronger League; mandates should be more widely assigned, some to the United States and at least half to smaller nations; there should be equality in customs duties for all League members with all mandates; extensive administrative power should be centralized in an autonomous mandates commission; all mandatory officials should be professionally trained for their jobs; and provision should be made for increasing native participation in administration.

Vera Micheles Dean, in the June *Survey Graphic*, declares that "out of the welter of discussions about a post-war order, the point that emerges most sharply is that human welfare, hitherto the forgotten quantity in international relations, begins to overshadow all other considerations. . . . The peacemakers will be faced with a double task: the task of reconstructing democracy within nations, so that it can meet the strains and stresses of a mass production era; and the task of making this reconstructed democracy work in relations between nations." Mrs. Dean specifically calls for "a supranational organization based on the voluntary collaboration of free peoples, who would be concerned . . . with the interests and welfare of international society as a whole."

The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* devotes its July issue to "Defending America's Future." Of the twenty-three articles, several deal with problems of the peace settlement. The programs of the Union for Concerted Peace Efforts and of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace are reflected in an article by Emily Hickman, who is an officer in both groups as well as a professor of history at the New Jersey College for Women. She insists primarily on the need for "limitation on the economic sovereignty of states." Toward this end she would favor the establishment of a world bank, stabilization of national currencies in terms of other national currencies, investment con-

trols for extra-national investments, guaranteed access to raw-material markets, and similar international arrangements.

Frankly pessimistic is Freda Utley, who foresees more and more economic domination by national governments with less and less democratic control of those governments. Miss Utley's essay is in many respects the most remarkable in the whole issue. She is a socialist who has been disillusioned without becoming cynical. (Last year she published *The Dream We Lost: Soviet Russia Then and Now*, John Day, 1940.) Her comparative study of recent trends in Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States leads her to conclusions very similar to those advanced by James Burnham in his *Managerial Revolution*. As an ardent democrat she is deeply concerned with threats to civil liberties and representative government. A long war will doom democracy, she fears.

INSIDE RUSSIA

ALTHOUGH most of the articles on Russia written before June 22 became unreliable after that date, there are some exceptions. Most notable, perhaps, is the extensive report on "Soviet Industry" in the July *Fortune*. The anonymous author of this remarkable report chided Americans for their scornful disdain of Russian power when Americans were all too ready to let their judgments be beclouded by their dislike of communism and their hope that Russia would not be much help to Germany.

Writing in May, the *Fortune* author warned his readers that "the Soviet Union has already become a great industrial nation" and that it "has declared its determination to become the greatest industrial power on earth." The article, however, is stronger in details than in generalizations; and that very fact gives it its chief merit. Different industries are analyzed separately and in relation to one another. Extensive statistics are assembled, with the author helpfully and candidly revealing their

sources and appraising their probable reliability.

The picture is impressive, but it is by no means uncritically optimistic. The first and second "five-year plans," from 1928 through 1937, are shown to have resulted in phenomenal industrial expansion—although gains were considerably less than planned for. The third five-year plan, 1938-1942, is not faring so well. The year 1939 witnessed an actual slump. Production rose again in 1940. Emphasis on size, quantity, and standardization of industrial plants and products has resulted in poor quality and variety; and too little attention has been given to consumer goods. But both of these shortcomings are being remedied at the present time. Another current improvement is the planned shift of more industry from western Russia to the Ural Mountains and the Kuznetzk Basin in Siberia, thus reducing the excessive strain on the transportation system.

SHIPS

SHIPYARDS in the United States are the chief contributors to the growing merchant marines of the democracies. Whereas in 1941 launchings in Britain and the United States are expected to total one million tons each, in 1942 Britain will merely maintain the same rate while the United States output will have increased nearly fourfold. Economic, technical, and political aspects of America's gigantic shipbuilding effort are well reviewed in the July issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Fortune*. In the former is a nine-page article by Shelby Davis. In the latter are three long articles, profusely illustrated. Among many other things, one learns: that government policy favors geographical dispersion of shipbuilding to reduce dangers from aerial attack and to prevent transportation tieups in furnishing supplies; that increased use of welding instead of riveting is saving on time, labor, and ships' weight; that new engine designs have increased speed and reduced fuel consumption; that expansion of the long-range naval building program

is curtailing the possible maximum expansion of the merchant marine; and that construction of the proposed St. Lawrence seaway would effectively increase shipbuilding capacity by making possible the utilization of Great Lakes yards for the building of ocean-going ships.

CURBING INFLATION

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN is again restored to respectability. Once more it is prudent and patriotic to save money. Poor Richard and pre-1930 economics textbooks are no longer "subversive" as they were during the depression years when saving was anti-social and spending was the thing to do.

If everyone would save that portion of his 1941 income which represents an increase over his 1940 income, then each of us could have x amount of goods *plus* savings, whereas if we spend all of our 1941 incomes we could still have only x amount of goods—purchased at higher prices. This apparent paradox was illustrated by Undersecretary of the Treasury Daniel W. Bell in a broadcast over the National Radio Forum on August 11. If the American people should receive 60 billion dollars in excess of their tax obligations and if the maximum amount of goods that can possibly be produced for civilian consumption should be worth only 50 billion dollars, then one of two outcomes may be expected, said Mr. Bell. "If they insist on spending that entire 60 billion dollars, the price of the limited goods available will rise 20 per cent. Goods which had cost \$5 will, on the average, then cost \$6. But if people spend only 50 billion dollars and use 10 billion dollars to buy defense savings bonds, the price of the goods available will remain the same, and in addition people will have acquired the savings bonds."

Systematic and widespread saving will not only benefit individuals but it will also benefit the nation as a whole by preventing inflation. For the dynamics of inflation are such that prices would tend to spiral up-

wards far beyond the 20 per cent increase assumed in the preceding paragraph.

Preventing inflation is one of the most serious problems to confront the American people as a result of the defense program. That the problem can be solved by the voluntary cooperation and self-restraint of all citizens is theoretically possible. But it is not likely to be achieved by these means alone. Already the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply and the Federal Reserve Board have taken steps designed to keep down prices and check credit inflation by restraining instalment buying. The OPACS, however, lacks sufficient authority to be fully effective and its officials have asked Congress for drastic price-fixing legislation. Others urge laws to compel all wage-earners to buy government securities.

In lieu of compulsory legislation, government officials have spared no pains to solicit voluntary cooperation. Numerous radio talks, press releases, and magazine articles have carried their appeals in recent months. Two of these articles deserve special mention here by reason of their authoritative authorship and clear exposition of the whole problem. One of these was written by the OPACS director, Leon Henderson, and published in the July issue of *Fortune*. The other was written for the August *Survey Graphic* by John M. Clark, a member of Dr. Henderson's staff and a former president of the American Economic Association. Either article can be understood by most high school students with some background in economics.

The action of the Federal Reserve Board in curbing instalment buying is subjected to an enlightening analysis by Ferdinand Lundberg in the August 23 issue of the *Nation* in a brief article picturesquely entitled "Time Bomb: Consumers' Credit." Mr. Lundberg believes that the curb will

do some good for the moment but that it will only postpone for six months or so the price rises which would have occurred this fall without it. He urges that additional and more direct steps to control prices should be taken promptly.

FREE SPEECH IN 1941

FOR twenty-one years the standard authoritative book in its field has been Zechariah Chafee's *Freedom of Speech* (Harcourt Brace, 1920). In this year of critical concern for the preservation of our civil liberties it is fitting and fortunate that Professor Chafee (Harvard Law School) should bring the subject up to date with a new volume entitled *Free Speech in the United States*. The concluding chapter of the book was published in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for August 9.

Professor Chafee reaffirms his old convictions on the necessity for free speech in a democracy and he adds an important new idea. The new emphasis is summarized as follows: "We must do more than remove the discouragements to open discussion. We must exert ourselves to supply active encouragements." We have learned from experience, says the author, that truth does not automatically emerge from unrestrained controversy, as John Stuart Mill once thought. It is necessary to improve the methods of discussion.

This department calls attention to recent articles in popular or semi-popular magazines that should be of special interest to social studies teachers. The articles are not summarized; rather a range of ideas on current topics is presented together with references to fuller treatments.

Notes and News

National Council at Boston

During the National Education Association convention in Boston, June 29-July 3, the National Council for the Social Studies held four sessions as the NEA's Department of Social Studies. At the first session Nelle E. Bowman described the social studies curriculum of the Tulsa secondary schools, and R. O. Hughes and Tyler Kepner discussed her talk. John E. O'Loughlin presided.

The second session was a joint meeting with the National Association of Secondary-School Principals. The theme, "The School Interprets Democracy," was discussed from the respective viewpoints of social studies teacher and high school principal. Speaking on this subject were three teachers (Allen Y. King, Mildred Ellis, and Horace Kidger), three principals (J. E. Nancarrow, Roy S. Haggard, and Joseph Powers), and the Massachusetts commissioner of education (Walter F. Downey).

The third session was a luncheon at which Roy A. Price presided. William E. Young gave a preview of the forthcoming Yearbook on "The Social Studies in the Elementary School." Henry M. Willard described the Institutes of National Government which are held each year in Washington for social studies teachers and pupils.

A joint meeting with the National Council of Geography Teachers concluded the program. Two elementary school teachers, Mabel B. Casner and Kathryn Schnorrenberg, spoke on "Democracy" and "Geography," respectively. Preston E. James then gave some entertaining and informative sidelights on "The People of South America."

National Council at Indianapolis

The twenty-first annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, to be held November 20-22 at Indianapolis, will have the most extensive program in the history of the meeting. A symposium on citizenship education with morning and afternoon sessions on the opening day (Thanksgiving Day), is an innovation this year. Sharing joint sponsorship of the symposium with the National Council

will be the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship. Also new is the plan to devote all of Friday afternoon to a large number of small-group meetings. A third innovation is the plan to have three breakfast meetings on Saturday morning for elementary school teachers, junior high school teachers, and senior high school teachers, respectively. The banquet, luncheons, receptions, and general morning sessions will be held as in the past.

DeWitt Morgan, Indianapolis superintendent of schools and a former president of the National Council, will welcome the convention. Fremont P. Wirth will deliver the presidential address, and the new yearbook will be presented by its editor, William E. Young. Henry Johnson will be honor guest and speaker at the banquet on Friday evening.

David Cushman Coyle, eminent author and publicist, will be one of several speakers on the Saturday program. Mr. Coyle, sometimes called the Tom Paine of our age, is the author of the current widely selling *America*. His address will deal with the problem of national morale.

On Friday afternoon there will be seventeen seminars and round-tables, meeting simultaneously and devoted to the following topics:

- Resource Units
- Geography
- Evaluation
- Regional Resources
- Workshops
- Community Action
- The Textbook Controversy
- Youth Organizations
- The Stanford Social Science Investigation
- The Michigan Survey of Civic Education
- Practicing Democracy in School Relations
- Military History
- Military Training and Civic Education
- Developing Skill in Critical Thinking
- Latin America in the School Curriculum
- What Shall We Teach About Government?
- Objectives of Elementary Education

As attendance at each of these seventeen sessions will be strictly limited it will be necessary to secure tickets in advance. These tickets will be issued without charge, as long as they last, to persons making advance reservations

on forms which will be distributed to all members about November 1 with the printed program of the convention.

NCSS Officers for 1942

Members of the National Council for the Social Studies who attend the annual business meeting scheduled for Saturday, November 22, at Indianapolis will elect a president and two vice-presidents to serve during the calendar year 1942, and two directors to serve for three-year terms. All members are invited to submit suggestions at once to the Committee on Nominations: Howard Cummings, chairman, Clayton High School, Clayton, Missouri; R. O. Hughes, Board of Education, Pittsburgh; and Ethel DeMarsh, Riverside High School, Milwaukee.

New England

The New England Council for the Social Studies will hold its fall meeting on October 17 and 18 at Boston University. The theme of this meeting will be "New England in the Social Studies Program." There will be both general and sectional meetings. The former will hear informational addresses about New England, and the latter will consider the application of this information to social studies teacher. For further information or reservations for the Friday dinner, write to Victor E. Pitkin, secretary, 28 Glen Road, Reading, Massachusetts. V.E.P.

New York

The annual summer meeting of the New York State Council for the Social Studies was held on July 24 at the State College for Teachers, Albany. The morning session was devoted to a study of the processes of the state government, with addresses by three public officials: the deputy commissioner of education, a judge from the state supreme court, and the speaker of the state assembly. In the afternoon Mildred McChesney, state supervisor of social studies, led a panel discussion on the new curriculum recommendations for secondary school social studies in New York State.

The New York State Council for the Social Studies in August offered an eight-day "Laboratory Session" for its members who wished to work on their school problems in collaboration with other teachers in the state and with help from experts in various fields of the social

studies. The session was held at Colgate University. About fifty teachers spent all or part of the period working together, with a staff composed of secondary school teachers. Nineteen consultants visited the session, giving one or two days' time for general sessions and for group and individual conferences.

The procedure used was similar to that of a workshop, with groups organized along grade-level lines. The average day included morning, afternoon, and evening sessions, after each of which the time was given over to individual and group work, or conferences with staff and consultants. Educational films, a field trip, and recreational activities were included in the program.

The staff consisted of Harold M. Long, Loren S. Woolston, Vaughan F. Abercrombie, Kathryn C. Heffernan, and Edith E. Starratt. E. E. S.

Howard R. Anderson of Cornell University will be the speaker at the luncheon meeting of the Long Island Social Studies Teachers' Association on October 10. His topic will be "Evaluating the Social Studies Program Outlined in Bulletin 2." Professor Anderson will answer questions concerning the new State social studies work, which has been the major subject of discussion of this association for the past year.

The meeting will be held at Felice, on Old Country Road and Post Avenue, in Westbury. Teachers interested in attending are urged to make reservations with Miss Eleanor Craw, East Northport, Long Island. Officers will be elected at this meeting.

Lower Hudson social studies teachers will meet October 31 for a luncheon at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York, with Mrs. Marian Brulé as chairman and H. R. Anderson as speaker. F. A. G.

West Virginia

The annual meeting of West Virginia social studies teachers will be held at Charleston on October 31. The program is being arranged by Lucy M. Coplin of University High School, Morgantown. At the luncheon session Wilbur F. Murra of Washington, D.C., will speak on recent developments in the social studies. Afternoon discussions will be led by Virginia Lewis of Huntington, Edwin P. Adkins of Charles Town, and Sarah Smith of Parkersburg.

Ohio

A meeting of the Central Ohio Social Studies Association on April 17 was devoted to the role of teachers in American democracy. Lieutenant-Governor Paul Herbert of Ohio, prominent in the Americanism campaign of the American Legion, spoke on "What the American Legion Expects of Teachers in a Democracy." Miss Bertha Jacobs, representing the point of view of practicing teachers, commented on Mr. Herbert's remarks and defined the teacher's place in a changing world. The meeting is an illustration of an attempt to reconcile parties which frequently misunderstand each other's positions, to define differences, and to promote a democratic point of view in the solution of problems. W. V. T.

Michigan

The Southwestern Michigan Social Studies Association held its eighteenth annual meeting at Kalamazoo on April 5. The topic was "National Defense and the Social Studies." In the opening address, Dwight L. Dumond of the history department of the University of Michigan said that one of the most important elements in national defense is the promotion of an understanding of democracy, a function which can be promoted only by those who are well-grounded in the social studies.

During the afternoon session, Dr. Dumond spoke on "Teaching Democracy," Willis Dunbar of Kalamazoo College spoke on "Teaching Civil Liberties," and Arthur Aiton, professor of Hispanic American history at the University of Michigan, presented a scheme for teaching Latin-American relations by broadening our present history courses to include an integrated study and appreciation of the culture and institutions of all countries of North and South America.

At the annual business meeting, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Marjorie Russell, Grand Rapids, president; Edwin Grunst, South Haven, vice-president; and Pearl Zanes, Western Michigan College, secretary-treasurer. A. N.

Missouri

The spring conference of the Missouri Council for the Social Studies was held at Jefferson City on April 12. The general theme of the

program was "Education for Democracy and Defense." At the morning session, R. M. Inbody, president of the Missouri State Teachers Association, addressed the group on the subject, "Looking Forward with Democratic Ideals." Lloyd W. King, state superintendent of schools, followed with an address on "The New Curriculum in Missouri High Schools, and National Defense."

At an informal luncheon an exhibit of types of visual aids for social studies teaching, available for loan from the State Department of Education, was presented to the group.

Miss Isabel S. Dolch, vice-president of the Missouri Council, presided over the afternoon session. This session was devoted to a panel discussion of the question, "How Can the Schools Help Young People to Feel That Their Role Is Vital to Democracy and National Defense?" The members of the formal panel were W. Francis English, Floyd D. Welch, Guy V. Price, G. H. Melone, and Elmer Ellis. After the panel discussion members of the Council were favored with a conducted tour of the state capitol building, to view the Thomas Hart Benton murals and other features of interest. President James McKee announced that the Missouri Council membership had reached 250, the highest in its history.

E. E.

A New Directory of Social Studies Organizations

A directory of local, state, and regional organizations of social studies teachers will be published in mimeographed form early in October under the auspices of the Public Relations Committee of the National Council. Information about each organization listed will include its current officers, publications, meetings, and other activities.

To Defend Education

An "action body" to mobilize education in the service of the nation and to protect education and teachers from the attacks of agencies whose goal is the undermining of the American school, has been organized under the auspices of the National Education Association.

The new agency, to be known as the Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, is directed by Donald DuShane,

immediate past president of the NEA and superintendent of schools at Columbus, Indiana.

"The commission will take direct action in a manner as forceful as possible against all enemies of schools and education," says Dr. DuShane. "We expect to move against all individuals and organizations who are endeavoring to weaken the schools. Such attacks threaten the security of our democracy. Education has a role in the defense program that is no less important than that of our armed forces."

Twentieth Century Fund

"The Twentieth Century Fund is an organization for the study of current economic problems and for the formulation of constructive policies to meet them. . . . The Fund seeks, rather than avoids, controversial issues. It believes that controversy is an index of public interest—and the more controversy there is, the greater is the need for impartial, objective facts and for constructive policies in the interest of the people as a whole."

This statement by the present staff of the Fund gives part of the background for an increasing volume of political-economic material on such topics as labor, the national debt, housing, and big business, with which social studies teachers should be familiar. In addition to a scholarly research report on each problem investigated, the Fund issues reprints of the recommendations contained in each report and two series of pamphlets: one series, distributed by the Public Affairs Committee, consists of 32-page illustrated booklets at 10 cents each; the other, distributed by the Fund itself as "Public Policy Bulletins," consists of 12- and 16-page leaflets, at 2 cents each.

In 1939 the Fund published a research report, *Does Distribution Cost Too Much?* (2nd edition, 1941, 420 pages, \$2.50). Soon thereafter appeared *59¢ of Your \$1 the Cost of Distribution* (Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 44, 10 cents) and four shorter bulletins, as follows: *How Consumers Add to Distribution Costs*, *Hazards of Retailing*, *Walls Between the States*, and *Producer to Consumer*. Similarly, the research study, *Housing for Defense* (220 pages, \$1.50), has also been followed with pamphlets and bulletins based on its findings. For fuller information write to The Twentieth Century Fund, 330 W. 42nd Street, New York.

1942 Institutes of Government

The National Capital School Visitors Council, which sponsored the two Institutes of National Government held in Washington in March and April, 1941, announces the dates of its Institutes in the current academic year: (1) Institute for Secondary School Students, February 2-7, 1942; (2) a second Institute for Students, March 30-April 4; and (3) an Institute for Social Studies Teachers, April 6-11.

Each Institute will again consist primarily of a series of conferences with officials in the three branches of the federal government. The residence center for all three gatherings will be the undergraduate campus of the American University. Requests for information regarding participation in the 1942 Institutes should be addressed to the Director, National Capital School Visitors Council, 1420 New York Ave., Washington.

Comment from England

"Some qualms have been felt as to whether 'The Tree of Liberty,' a film of the American War of Independence, ought to be shown in this country at this time. There has already been postponement, and the first of several private showings took place not long after Christmas. The qualms are needless and the postponement was unnecessary. We were all told at school what fools the English were to lose Virginia, in or around 1770, and there can be no earthly harm in a Hollywood film telling us the same thing in the nicest and most picturesque way possible" (*Manchester Guardian*).

"London, July 21.—Opening a special course of instruction on the United States for 275 British teachers, American Ambassador John G. Winant today told the teachers that he hoped they would soon teach as much about America in Britain as is taught about Britain in American schools.

Thus far few British school children have learned much about the United States to tighten their present bonds of friendship" (*New York Herald-Tribune*).

For Teaching Americanism

There is these days no lack of printed matter designed to strengthen the patriotic loyalties of Americans, young and old. From among the hundreds of pamphlets, articles, and books

which might be mentioned, this department wishes to call particular attention to these three:

America, by David Cushman Coyle. Washington: National Home Library Foundation, 1941. 91p., cloth-bound. 25c.

I Hear America Singing, by a committee of teachers in the Nashville public schools. Nashville, Tenn.: Board of Education, 1941. 210p., mimeographed, cloth-bound. 60c.

A Golden Treasury of Americanism, compiled by George William Gerwig. Personal Growth Leaflet No. 24. Washington: National Education Association, 1941. 16p., paper. 1c (available only in quantities of 25 or more).

America is a spirited tract on the evils and dangers of Nazism, the benefits of American democracy, an analysis of the world's crisis in everyday terms, and a forceful plea to Americans to defend their way of life. The little red-white-and-blue jacketed book is having a deserved phenomenal sale all over the country.

I Hear America Singing contains patriotic quotations, plays, classroom discussions, study questions, and content summaries about American democracy. It is a unit for use by both teachers and pupils. A beautifully bound volume.

A Golden Treasury of Americanism contains familiar quotations from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington, Lincoln, Grant, and others. Its most distinctive value to teachers is that such large quantities can be purchased so cheaply for distribution to pupils, their parents, and others.

Guides to Fiction

Social studies teachers who have their pupils read fiction with a purpose will appreciate the usefulness of four recently published annotated bibliographies. *The American Spirit in Fiction*, published as a supplement to the *Booklist* for June 15, lists fifty novels which especially illustrate the fulfilment of democratic ideals in the lives of characteristic American individuals and groups. Some of the stories have historical settings; others are contemporary. The list may be obtained at 25 cents a copy, or 10 copies for \$1.00, from the American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Ave., Chicago.

The other three lists are all in the "Personal Growth Leaflet" series of the NEA. *Fiction for Highschool Students* and *Fiction for Junior*

Highschool Students are general lists with annotations which will help the social studies teacher make appropriate selections. *American History in Fiction* should be exceptionally valuable to teachers and pupils in American history classes, for it contains references to sixty books especially chosen for high school pupils. The classified and annotated list was prepared by Gunnar Horn, Benson High School, Omaha. Personal Growth Leaflets cost only one cent each in quantities of twenty-five or more (smaller quantities not sold). Order from the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington.

Free Teaching Aids

"Teaching Devices and Suggestions in the Social Studies" is a mimeographed leaflet prepared originally for Chicago teachers under the sponsorship of superintendent William H. Johnson. The leaflet is now announced as available to others as long as the supply lasts. Address Board of Education, 228 North LaSalle St., Chicago.

"A Study of Latin America" is an excellent and inclusive manual for senior high school teachers who wish to further the "good neighbor" policy in their classrooms. Its 78 mimeographed pages contain outlines and teaching suggestions for three alternate six-week units adapted to different situations. There is also an annotated bibliography of 132 items. Similar manuals have also been prepared for the junior high school, upper elementary grades, and lower elementary grades. Authors of the manuals are Richard M. Perdew, Anne McSpadden, and Rose Wyler. They are available without charge from the Education Section, Office of Inter-American Affairs, Room 7001 Commerce Building, Washington.

Personal

R. O. Hughes, director of social studies and citizenship in the Pittsburgh public schools and a former president of the National Council for the Social Studies, was honored last June by his alma mater, Brown University, with the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters.

James A. Michener resigned in June from the faculty of Colorado State College of Education to accept the position of senior associate editor in the Macmillan Company of New York City. Mr. Michener also resigned as

chairman of the Publications Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies, a position in which he has served the Council with distinction during the past two years.

Horace T. Morse, assistant director of the General College of the University of Minnesota, has accepted the appointment of President Wirth to the position of chairman of the Publications Committee of the National Council.

Cases in Textbook Controversies

During the height of interest last spring concerning the attacks which various lay groups were making on the schools for their use of allegedly subversive textbooks in the social studies, the Academic Freedom Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies assembled "packets" of reading matter on the subject for free distribution. More than 600 were distributed and no more can now be given away. It is possible, however, to borrow a complete packet for two weeks' use by requesting it from the Packet Loan Service of the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington.

The largest of the sixteen items in each packet was a 66-page mimeographed booklet entitled "Control of Social Studies Textbooks: A Review of the Activities of Special Interest Groups with Suggestions of What Educators Can Do," prepared by the Research Division of the NEA in cooperation with the Academic Freedom Committee of the NCSS. The foreword was signed by the members of the Committee: Merle Curti, chairman, Ruth West, and Howard E. Wilson. This "case book" was so favorably received that a considerable demand for its reprinting arose after the original supply had been exhausted. Accordingly a small additional supply has just been made for sale at cost. The price is 20 cents per copy postpaid, with usual discounts for quantities. Send orders to the Council, 1201 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington.

Programs and Units in the Social Studies

Curriculum Series Number Two of the National Council for the Social Studies was published in July as *Programs and Units in the Social Studies*, edited by Henry Kronenberg.

The book is a revision of "Courses and Units in the Social Studies," which had been issued in a tentative mimeographed edition last February. It is a sequel to *The Future of the Social Studies*, published in 1939. Each of its seventeen chapters contains a brief description of the social studies program for all grades in a particular school or school system and a detailed report on one unit illustrating that program.

The new book was printed in a format similar to that used for *The Future*. It contains 148 pages and sells for \$1.50 to members and non-members alike.

NCSS Bulletins

Two Bulletins, Nos. 16 and 17, of the National Council for the Social Studies will come off the press during October and be distributed to members. Both were scheduled for earlier publication but have been unavoidably delayed. Bulletin No. 16 is a source unit on civil liberties by Howard E. Wilson and others. Bulletin No. 17 is a *Reading Guide for Social Studies Teachers* by Edgar B. Wesley. The latter will appear first, about October 8, whereas the former may be expected near the end of the month.

Cloth-Bound Yearbooks

The Twelfth Yearbook, *The Social Studies in the Elementary School*, will be distributed to all members of the National Council early in November. As in other years, this copy will be bound in paper unless a previous request has been sent to the Secretary's Office, asking for a cloth-bound edition. To secure the latter, remit 30 cents not later than October 15. To non-members the book will sell for \$2.00 paper and \$2.30 cloth.

Readers are invited to send in items—programs and accounts of meetings, curriculum changes and classroom experiments, or personal items of general interest—for "Notes and News." Items for December should be sent in by November 1. Send to W. F. Murra, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington.

Contributors to this issue include Lucy Coplin, Elmer Ellis, Flora Gunnerson, Adrian Nieboer, Victor Pitkin, Edith Starratt, William Van Til.

Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

October Radio Programs

The following radio programs, to be broadcast in October, should prove of special interest to social studies teachers and their classes. The following abbreviations are used in listing the programs: NBC, National Broadcasting Company; CBS, Columbia Broadcasting System; and MBS, Mutual Broadcasting System. All programs are listed in *Eastern Standard Time*. It should be noted, however, that the Columbia School of the Air programs listed below at 9:15 A.M., Monday through Friday, are broadcast in the *Central Time Zone* at 2:30 P.M., in the *Mountain Time Zone* at 9:30 A.M. and in the *Pacific Time Zone* at 1:30 P.M.

Sundays

- 12:15-12:30 P.M. "I'm an American" NBC-Blue
2:00-2:15 P.M. "Hidden History" NBC-Blue
2:00-2:30 P.M. "Invitation to Learn" CBS
2:30-3:00 P.M. "University of Chicago Round-Table" NBC-Red
4:30-5:00 P.M. "Spirit of 1941" (History of our army, navy, marines) CBS
8:00-8:30 P.M. "American Forum of the Air" MBS

Mondays

- 9:15-9:45 A.M. "Americans at Work" CBS. October 6, "Shipbuilders"; October 20, "Sailors"; October 27, "Airmen"
1:15-1:30 P.M. "Home of the Brave" NBC-Red
3:45-3:55 P.M. "Between the Bookends" NBC-Blue
5:00-5:15 P.M. "Columbia's Lecture Hall" CBS
7:30-8:00 P.M. "Cavalcade of America" NBC-Red

Tuesdays

- 9:15-9:45 A.M. "Music of the Americas" CBS. October 7, "School and Children's Songs"; October 14, "Geography and Music"; October 21, "Music of the Mountaineers"; October 28, "Music of the Plains"
3:45-4:00 P.M. "America in Transition" CBS
8:30-9:00 P.M. "For America We Sing" NBC-Blue
9:30-10:00 P.M. "Report to the Nation" CBS
10:15-10:30 P.M. "Public Affairs" CBS

Wednesdays

- 9:15-9:45 A.M. "New Horizons" CBS. October 8, "Dawn of the New World"; October 15, "Queen of the Caribbean"; October 22, "Land of Golden Empires"; October 29, "Land of the Spanish Main"
1:30-2:00 P.M. "Frontiers of American Life" NBC-Blue
9:00-10:00 P.M. "Millions for Defense" CBS

Thursdays

- 9:15-9:45 A.M. "Tales from Far and Near" CBS. October 30, "Boat Builder" (Robert Fulton)
1:15-1:30 P.M. "Between the Bookends" NBC-Blue
3:45-3:55 P.M. "Adventures in Science" CBS
6:30-7:00 P.M. "Heirs of Liberty" NBC-Red

Fridays

- 9:15-9:45 A.M. "This Living World" CBS. October 10, "Democracy Today"; October 17, "Preparing for Defense"; October 24, "Training for Jobs"; October 31, "Food for Democracy"
1:30-1:45 P.M. "Democracy's Spiritual Defenses" NBC-Blue
7:00-7:15 P.M. "Bridge to Yesterday" NBC-Blue
8:30-9:00 P.M. "Proudly We Hail" (defense workers) CBS
8:30-9:00 P.M. "Information Please" NBC-Red

Saturdays

- 10:30-11:00 A.M. "America the Free" NBC-Red
12:00-12:30 M. "Columbia's Country Journal" (farm problems) CBS
2:30-3:00 P.M. "Of Men and Books" CBS
4:00-4:30 P.M. "Calling Pan America" CBS
7:00-7:30 P.M. "People's Platform" CBS
7:00-7:30 P.M. "Defense for America" NBC-Red
9:30-10:00 P.M. "America Preferred" MBS

Radio Notes

Teachers interested in radio activities will find much valuable information in *Radio Review*, a monthly bulletin issued by the Women's National Radio Committee, 113 West 57th Street, New York. The subscription rate is one dollar per year. In June of this year the WNRC honored the following programs for their service to democracy: commentator, Ray-

mond Gram Swing (MBC); forum, "The University of Chicago Round-Table" (NBC-Red); educational program, "Headlines and By-lines" (CBS); miscellaneous, "I'm an American" (NBC-Blue).

A total of seven non-commercial educational broadcasting stations have been granted licenses to date by the Federal Communications Commission. Those who have received licenses are the University of Illinois at Urbana, the Chicago Board of Education, the University of Kentucky, and the city school systems of Cleveland, New York, San Francisco, and San Diego. These stations will broadcast programs including history, civics, economics, literature, music, and speech.

The Columbia Broadcasting System's School of the Air of the Americas enters upon its thirteenth year with a more complete program than ever. A new teachers' manual has been prepared which teachers may obtain free by writing to the Educational Director, Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Avenue, New York. This gives synopses for the programs to be broadcast throughout the school year. Suggested activities, readings, and films are included. A book of background materials, paralleling the broadcasts, has also been prepared by Hans Christian Adamson of the American Museum of Natural History. Entitled *Lands of New World Neighbors*, it may be obtained in the educational edition for \$2.75 from McGraw-Hill Book Company, 330 West 42nd Street, New York.

Motion Picture Notes

To comply with the many requests by schools, clubs, and civic groups for films dealing with defense, the United States Information Service, Room 500, 1405 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., has compiled a list of government films available for non-theatrical distribution. A four-page mimeographed list will be sent upon request.

Four governmental shorts have recently been released by the United States Government for showings in commercial theaters. Three of these films have been chosen by the Motion Picture Committee Cooperating for National Defense. This body represents a national group of distributors working under Francis Harmon of the Hays office. The films, which are worth looking for at your local theater, are *Bits and*

Pieces, a film showing how the Office of Production Management is recruiting the aid of small industries in turning out parts of machines needed for national defense. *America Builds Ships* depicts the work of shipbuilding yards in building up our merchant marine. The work of the CCC in national defense is shown in a short called *Army in Overalls*. A documentary film which has also been released for theatrical showing is *Harvests for Tomorrow*. The locale for this film is the rocky slopes of New England. It shows the need for rehabilitating the worn out soil of this region. Inquire of your local theater manager as to when this film will appear in your city.

A series of four Movie Discussion Guides to accompany outstanding 16-mm. films have recently been published by the American Association for Adult Education, 60 East 42nd Street, New York. The first, *Japan's War and the U.S.A.*, is designed to accompany the films *China Strikes Back* and *Japan's War in China*. *Planning for Living* furnishes discussion material for the film *The City*. *Unemployment and Defense* helps to vitalize the documentary film *Valley Town*; while *What Shall We Defend?* is a guide to a series of fine films arranged for three programs. These guides are part of the Defense Digest series of pamphlets devoted to important issues in America's home line of defense. Pamphlets are 10 cents each, 12 for \$1.00.

Recent 16-mm. Releases

Non-Theatrical Pictures Corporation, 165 West 46th Street, New York.

Peoples of Canada, 2 reels, sound, rents for \$3.00. A cross-country survey of race groups in all stages of becoming Canadians.

General Motors Corporation, 1775 Broadway, New York.

What So Proudly We Hail, 2 reels, sound, free. Shows the average American family as the real reason for national defense.

Now Is the Time, 3 reels, sound, free. General Motors' contribution to national defense.

Wheels for Defense, 1 reel, sound, free. The place of cars and trucks in a modern army.

Wings for Defense, 1 reel, sound, free. Recent trends in aviation.

Swedish Travel Information Bureau, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Scenic Sweden—The Land and the People, 2 reels, sound, free.

Swedes at Work and Play, 2 reels, sound, free.

Child Welfare in Sweden, 1 reel, sound, free.

Life in Stockholm, 1 reel, sound, free.

Swedish Industries, 2 reels, sound, free.

Bell and Howell Company, 1801 Larchmont Avenue, Chicago.

Constitutional Government, 2 reels, sound, rental \$3.00. A high school government class discusses the origin of democratic government.

The Pilgrim Fathers, 2 reels, sound, rental \$3.00. British-made film on conditions in Old World which caused Pilgrims to come to America.

Seed of the Constitution, 1 reel, sound, rental \$1.50. Re-enactment of the events leading up to the constitution.

Pioneer of Freedom, 1 reel, sound, rental \$1.50. England's evolution of democracy from Magna Carta to World War II.

The Barrett Company, 40 Rector Street, New York.

The New South, 4 reels, sound, free. The role of nitrogen in the development of diversified crops and industry.

Motion Pictures Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington.

Farmers in a Changing World, 1½ reels, sound, free. How the AAA helps farm prices in the world market.

Roads and Erosion, 2 reels, sound, free. Steps being taken to prevent roadside erosion.

The American Film Center, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Sixty Seconds to Safety, 1 reel, sound, free. How a minute saved carelessly may cause fire damage.

Then Came July 5th, 1 reel, sound, free. Controlled sale of fireworks makes for a safe and sane 4th of July.

More Dangerous than Dynamite, 1 reel, sound, free. Home hazards that may cause fires.

One Match Can Do It, 1 reel, sound, free. How carelessness may cause forest fires, and forest fires may lead to floods.

Sounding the Alarm, 1 reel, sound, free. How to report fires.

Classroom Film Review

Title: *Argentina* (People of Buenos Aires)

Producer: Erpi Classroom Films, Inc., 35-11 Thirty-fifth Avenue, Long Island City, New York.

Length: 1 reel (11 minutes running time).

Type: 16-mm., sound.

Grade-level suitability: upper elementary, high school.

Cost: Sale price \$45.00. For rental arrangement consult your local film library.

Presents the city of Buenos Aires as the commercial, financial, and industrial hub of predominantly agricultural Argentina. Opens on a general view of Buenos Aires. The film then follows a packing-plant employee from his home to his place of employment, showing the transportation facilities available in this city. We then watch a grain broker leaving from the fashionable section of the city in his private car, and en route we see modern department stores and office buildings. Returning to the packing-plant employee, we see the work of a typical plant. At noon the worker returns home for lunch and the interior of his home is shown. Meanwhile the grain broker is in his office ordering a new tractor. To illustrate the source of his wealth, we are shown the docks and the imports and exports. Then the scene shifts to the pampas where wheat farming, cattle, and sheep raising are seen. Once again in the city we see the packing-plant employee on his day off showing his family the zoo. The film ends with a scene of Buenos Aires at night.

Excellent for geography and a study of Latin America. The introduction to the daily life of actual residents of the country gives a sense of reality to the picture which leaves the audience with a sense of familiarity with the country and its peoples. Direct narrative in Spanish adds to this sense of reality. This picture is one of a series of Erpi films on Latin America, which includes *Brazil* (people of the plantations), *Chile* (people of the country estates), and *Peru* (people of the mountains).

Records

Two informative folders, designed to aid educators in selecting records for classroom use, have been issued by the Educational Department, RCA Victor Manufacturing Company, Camden, N.J. The first folder, entitled "Patriotic and Folk Music of the Americas," is in tune with expanding Pan-American re-

lations. It lists Victor recordings of the national anthems, dances, folk songs, and patriotic music of Central, South, and North America, including a special album of speeches of American presidents. The second folder, "Folk Dances, Singing Games and Old Fashioned Dances," is timed to meet revived interest in our folk songs, dance tunes, and ballads.

"Lest We Forget—Our Constitution"

This new series of twenty-six recorded programs, each of fifteen minutes duration, on the Constitution of the United States is available for all radio stations September first. Schools may arrange with local stations to have these broadcast at a time convenient for class or assembly use.

The programs present in dramatized form the backgrounds of the Constitution, the compromises which were necessary before adoption was possible, the Bill of Rights and other amendments, as well as some typical Supreme Court cases interpreting this basic law of the land.

The series emphasizes the fundamentals of democratic government and the liberties enjoyed by the free people of the United States. The use of this program material constitutes a "must" for those schools that wish to train enlightened citizens of this republic in a day when forces of destruction are at work both without and within the body politic. These programs are furnished to the stations and schools without charge by application to the Institute of Oral and Visual Education, Radio Division, 101 Park Avenue, New York.

Building America

With the 1941-42 school year, *Building America*, the magazine which presents pictured studies of modern problems, enters upon its seventh volume. Mailed monthly during the school year, the eight issues in volume seven will treat the following problems: Training for National Defense, Total Defense, America's Outposts, Our Minority Youth Groups, Our Small Towns, Cotton, Libraries, America Singing. Subscriptions at \$2.00 per year, or single copies at 30 cents each may be obtained from

Building America, 2 West 45th Street, New York.

Government Aids

Teachers interested in setting up a classroom or school museum will find valuable assistance in Ned J. Burns' *Field Manual for Museums* obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, for 70 cents.

The amount of material obtainable from governmental agencies is sometimes so overwhelming that it is ignored entirely by many classroom teachers. This is especially true of the many excellent maps which may be had at small cost. Did you know, for example, that you can get a map of your own state, 20 x 27 inches in size for 10 cents? To check on this type of material, write to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, and request price list No. 53, *Maps*.

For maps of certain areas along the coast of the United States address the Director, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, stating the region in which you are interested. These maps are sold, but the index sheets illustrating and describing them are free.

Geological, topographic, and other maps are produced and sold by the Geological Survey. A circular giving general information concerning Geological Survey maps may be obtained free of charge on application to the Director, Geological Survey, Washington.

The Consumer's Service Section, Consumer's Counsel Division, Department of Agriculture, Washington, has available sets of posters which are loaned for a limited time. One set consists of enlargements from the special Food and National Defense issue of the periodical, *Consumer's Guide*, issued last September. Another set on very thin cardboard depicts adequate diets at low cost. A third series of ten posters is concerned with weights and measures, and the fourth is a series of cartoons entitled "Adventures of Johnny Consumer" which appeared in the January 2 issue of *Consumer's Guide*.

Picture Maps

The Stanley Bowmar Company, 2929 Broadway, New York, has collected a large number of picture maps of various publishers deemed most adaptable for school and library use.

Most are in color. The maps are available in two mountings; paper sheets, \$1.00 to \$2.00, and muslin with plain rods at top and bottom, \$1.50 to \$4.00. Write for a complete list.

Free and Inexpensive Material

A *Time Zone Map of the United States* in color, size 18 x 28 inches, may be obtained free by writing to American Airlines Inc., 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago. This map shows the modern airline routes and contrasts them with the old mail and stage coach routes. With the map will be sent a booklet entitled "America Takes a Test."

The Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, has available a 34-page booklet entitled *Teaching Elementary American History*. Sixteen articles each dealing with a different topic in American history describe the use of maps in vitalizing the particular phase of our history under consideration. Copies of the booklet are free.

Visual Education Monograph

Visual Education is the title of a recent monograph published by the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington. This publication surveys the experimentation in the field of the school film and applies the findings to the elementary school. The best procedures and practices are set forth and guidance is given in the utilization of the film in the classroom. Copies of *Visual Education* may be obtained from the above address at 50 cents per copy.

Opaque Projection

Many teachers have found of great value the opaque projector, a device which through the use of reflected light enables one to magnify on the screen pictures, illustrations from books and even small objects. To the teacher who has made use of this apparatus and to those just exploring its possibilities, the manual *Opaque Projection, A New Frontier in Teaching* by J. Y. Taylor will prove extremely interesting and valuable. Among the topics considered is the use of opaque projection on the various grade levels; the Delinea as a diagnostic and drill device; short exposure techniques, and

the best methods of handling projection problems. The manual is sent free to interested teachers by the Spencer Lens Company, Buffalo, New York.

Helpful Articles

- "A Social Studies Unit in Pictures," *Instructor*, L:19, September, 1941. A page of pictures showing how one school developed a unit on pioneer life.
- Atwood, Wallace W., Jr., "The Giant Relief Model of the United States," *Journal of Geography*, XL:169-72, May, 1941. The author describes the construction and use of the Giant Relief Model of the United States at the Babson Institute, Wellesley, Massachusetts.
- DePencier, Ida B., "Privileges of American Citizenship," *Instructor*, L:45-54, September, 1941. An illustrated unit of work for freedom of the press, speech, and religion.
- Delehanty, Bertha, "An Approach to Geography," *School Life*, XXVI:304, July, 1941. The trip idea.
- Hensley, Eugene, "Reliving History through School Trips," *School Activities*, XII:346-50, May, 1941. How a series of short trips and one long tour helps to vitalize the Gilson, Illinois, history program. An account of a typical tour is included.
- Lee, Kathleen L., "Democracy at Work through Visual Education," *Educational Screen*, XX:231-32, June, 1941. The Dallas County, Texas, schools study international friendship in the Western hemisphere with the aid of a variety of sensory materials.
- Levenson, W. B., and Randall, L. A. "Education via FM Radio Programs," *School Executive*, LX:46, 48, June, 1941. Describes how the Cleveland, Ohio, schools receive educational broadcasts sent out over the school board's own station.
- Olsen, Edward G., "Community Study Is Realistic Education," *Educational Screen*, XX:224-61, June, 1941. A review of the tendency toward utilizing community resources.
- Remmlein, Madaline K., "Excursions Are Often Hazardous," *The Nation's Schools*, XXVII, 55-56, May, 1941. The legal aspects of school excursions. Suggestions are given concerning the proper steps to be taken to avoid difficulties.
- Whitney, Ronald L., "We Travel By Truck," *Grade Teacher*, LIX:9, 84, September, 1941. An intermediate grade studies its nation through the use of an imaginary journey by truck.
- Woerner, Lee and Karl, "Your Constitution," *Grade Teacher*, LIX:16-17, September, 1941. Black-and-white drawings on the steps leading to the Constitution, for elementary pupils.
- Wyckoff, Josephine, "Weetown," *Grade Teacher*, LIX:32, 88, September, 1941. How a primary grade studied housing through the use of simple construction activities.

Readers are invited to send items of interest for this department to Dr. Hartley at the editorial office, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York.

Book Reviews

MODERN DEMOCRACY. By Carl L. Becker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. 100. \$2.00.

In this small book of one hundred pages is comprehended a quintessential wisdom which every teacher should consider with the utmost seriousness. It is concerned with no less a question than whether democracy can survive in a distraught, war-torn world. Let it be said at the outset that the author gives an equivocal answer to the question. He does not "think" that democracy "will everywhere succumb to dictatorship, reason to naked force, and naked force prove to be the prelude to another dark age of barbarism"—but he is not certain.

The present volume consists of three lectures delivered by Professor Carl L. Becker at the University of Virginia in November, 1940. In the first lecture ("The Ideal") Mr. Becker traces the idea of democracy as it was conceived by the thinkers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their "liberal-democratic" conception was that of the free man in the free state. Its basic assumptions were "the worth and dignity and creative capacity of the individual." Representative government, popular suffrage, and freedom of discussion were to implement their ideal.

In the second lecture ("The Reality") is elaborated the sad truth that "the ideal is always better than the real." Specifically, the author deals with the enormous changes in economic life which attended the rise of technological societies. With these changes, conceptions of political liberty tended to lose their significance. The wealthy and the privileged became imbued with the idea of "private advantage a public benefit." They sought to protect the advantages gained during an era of *laissez faire*. As for the common man, his concern was less and less for political rights. Increasingly he was concerned with the exigencies of making a living under conditions of social discord and economic uncertainty. In closing this lecture, Mr. Becker states his position in challenging terms:

If then the democratic way of life is to survive we must distinguish the kinds of individual freedom that

are essential to it from those that are unessential or disastrous. Broadly speaking, the kinds that are essential are those which the individual enjoys in his intellectual and political activities; the kinds that are unessential are the relatively unrestrained liberties he has hitherto enjoyed in his economic activities.

The third lecture ("The Dilemma") succinctly states the problem by which modern democracies are now confronted—"to solve the economic problem by the democratic method, or to cease to be democratic societies." That there are very many persons who believe that the problem can not be solved by democratic procedures is obvious. The great ideologies of our time—socialism, communism, and fascism, discriminatingly discussed by the author—deny the competence of democracy to resolve its fundamental dilemma.

And now the war. Here the author has some arresting things to say. He affirms that the solution of the great economic problems is inevitably made more difficult by participation in war, but he also holds that the success of the dictators would make democratic solutions impossible by destruction of the democracies themselves. Therefore it is better for the democracies to fight for their existence—better that they should be destroyed, if it comes to that, "by their friends than by their enemies."

The last paragraphs are most pregnant. Perhaps, the author says, the present crisis is even more profound than it appears. Perhaps much more is at stake than the preservation of democratic institutions. It may be that the fundamental issue is that of the ultimate ability of man to use to human advantage the vast new physical power which he has at his disposal but to which, it would seem, he has become a slave. The chief virtue of democracy lies in the fact that it affords the most promising milieu for untrammelled thinking on such compelling problems. No other kind of thinking will avail. More obvious now than in an earlier day is the wisdom of Pascal's famous dictum: "Thought makes the whole dignity of man; therefore endeavor to think well, that is the only morality."

WILLIAM HABBERTON

University of Illinois

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY. By William F. Russell and Thomas H. Briggs. New York: Macmillan, 1941. Pp. xiii, 413. \$1.48.

This book has as its obvious purpose the promotion among our youth of a keener interest in democracy. The authors boldly attack this task in a pioneering effort to insert in the study program of our schools the direct study of democracy.

Among the numerous good features of the book, the outstanding one is this pioneering purpose of the study of democracy directly in the school program. To advance this praiseworthy effort, the authors employ a medium that must be singled out for commendation. They reproduce and study analytically "The Creed of Democracy" prepared in 1940 by the faculty of Teachers College of Columbia University. While there is little that is new in this Creed in the way of thought or of expression, it is, nevertheless, one of the best interpretations given to educators. That it is presented in this book may mean that it will be more widely recognized and more widely applied.

Since the book is designed for use in classrooms, suggestions for study are incorporated as a separate section (pp. 173-200). The suggestions are given chapter by chapter and are, in the main, directive for the pupil rather than for the teacher's use in conducting a class. Some may criticize this format as being bothersome for pupils, but it must be pointed out that detailed suggestions directly following each chapter (some chapters are very short) would tend to divert interest and break up the reading.

Fine as this book is two points may be singled out for criticism. In the first place repeated references to and odious comparisons of European "isms" with democracy smacks of endeavoring to make democracy the lesser evil of two ways of living. The title, *The Meaning of Democracy*, leads a reader to expect a much more positive exposition of the strength of democracy. Evidently the authors themselves recognized this (see the first sentence on p. 173) but did not deem the point important.

A much more serious criticism may be directed to the expressions of the authors. That they wish to advance the understanding of democracy among American school children is beyond question. It may be questioned, however, whether the language of the text will be understandable to children. The language and

the concepts appear quite far advanced for boys and girls in their early 'teens. This criticism is less significant for older high school pupils but seems valid even there.

Taken as a pioneering endeavor in the direct study of democracy, the book is to be recommended to pupils and teachers everywhere and certainly merits a thorough trial in the schools.

DONNAL V. SMITH

New York State College for Teachers
Albany

FARMERS IN A CHANGING WORLD, the Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940. United States Department of Agriculture, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. xii, 1215. \$1.50.

In the domestic scene few problems affect us more intimately than the plight of the farmer. It is the farmer who constitutes a fourth of our population and rears a third of our children and yet it is he who receives but one tenth of our national income. It is the farmer who with the help of modern technology accomplishes the gargantuan task of providing the surplus foodstuffs with which to support seventy-five per cent of our population in non-agricultural pursuits.

Yet, incredible though it may seem, it is indicative of a surplus farm population that only one half of our farmers are needed to produce sufficient agricultural products to saturate the market. Such is the economic basis of the agricultural problem. Then there is the human problem: of the farmer poorly housed, clothed, and fed; of the farmer whose children receive an education inferior to that received by his urban neighbor's children; of the farmer who has lost his self-respect because he feels that he no longer plays a necessary or even contributing role in society. Finally there is the problem of the efficient utilization of resources—soil, grasslands, forests, and water for power, irrigation, and transportation.

These are the problems with which this yearbook is concerned. Previous yearbooks on soil, genetics, and nutrition have considered the discoveries of the natural scientist and may have been of only limited value to the student of the social sciences. *Farmers in a Changing World*, however, is of inestimable value to the social scientist. It is an ambitious work of great scope prepared under the direction of Henry

Wallace, then Secretary of Agriculture, and designed to present the facts of the farm problem as seen by the natural and social scientist, and to describe the methods and results—including shortcomings—of the New Deal farm program. That program has meant the realization of economic democracy to an unprecedented degree. For it to work successfully, however, for farmers to take an active part in deciding and administering agricultural policy, it is essential that the public be well informed; to this end the yearbook is dedicated.

More than seventy writers, most of whom are associated with the Department of Agriculture, have contributed to the fifty-four articles composing the main part of the book. Although no reader is likely to find all of those articles equally interesting, no reader should fail to find something of value in almost any part of the book. Nor should any social scientist fail to find chapters directly concerned with his special field, whether he be historian, economist, geographer, sociologist, psychologist, propagandist, anthropologist, or philosopher.

Particularly noteworthy is the attempt to put all problems in their historical setting. A study of foreign trade since the beginning of the nineteenth century precedes the discussion of reciprocal trade agreements; an historical study of the development of national land policies precedes the discussion of contemporary land use policies; and in the third through the fifth chapters covering 150 pages a history of American agriculture serves as introduction to the main body of the book.

In addition to the constant reference to the democratic aspects of the farm program, one theme continually reiterated is the need to go beyond the purely economic and scientific requirements of a farm program. "Beyond Economics" by M. L. Wilson, "A Philosophy of Life For the American Farmer (And Others)" by Professor W. E. Hocking of Harvard University, and "The Contribution of Sociology to Agriculture" by C. C. Taylor are articles typifying this emphasis. Mr. Wilson's article in particular should receive the attention of anyone considering economic problems, irrespective of any special interest in agriculture. He insists upon the need for a cultural approach in bringing about reform—the need to take into account habits, traditions, institutions, and moral values—rather than being dominated by the

dictates of scientific and economic law.

Helpful to those seeking a purview of the book is the chapter-by-chapter summary found in the first hundred pages. This briefer account, though obviously lacking in detail, nevertheless conveys the philosophy and spirit which so manifestly pervades the main body of the work and is one of its main contributions to the literature of socio-economic problems.

Farmers in a Changing World, an almost encyclopedic work, should be of interest to scholar and layman, farmer, and industrialist, and above all it should serve as an invaluable reference book for all students of economics or modern problems whether they be of secondary school or college level.

MANSON VAN B. JENNINGS

Horace Mann School
Columbia University

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION. By Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, rev. ed. New York: Harper, 1941. Pp. xv, 1087. \$3.75.

The subject matter pertains successively to disorganization in the individual (juvenile delinquency, unemployment, suicide, etc.); in the family (romantic fallacy, divorce, etc.); in the community (leisure, political corruption, etc.); and in the world (revolution, war, etc.). The chapters begin usually with a case study or a pertinent description of the problem, followed by a comprehensive analysis of its manifold aspects including excellently selected statistics, and a conclusion that relates the particular problem to the authors' concept of social disorganization.

The authors manifest a scholarly, inclusive knowledge of their subject. They delineate accurately the viewpoints of the various problems, and indicate their preferences with supporting factual data. By contrast with their earlier work published in 1933, the present book gives ample evidence that the authors have carefully studied the new developments in social disorganization. As evidence thereof, the chapters on "The Juvenile Delinquent," "Sex Offenders," "Mobility," "Migration," and "Fascism and War" are especially significant. Their concept of social disorganization which is presented in the Introduction is amplified and concretely demonstrated in the treatment of the various problems.

Social disorganization is regarded as neither abnormal nor unethical. It reflects the inadequacy of the social controls that are operative in society. It is a relative concept that is dependent upon the degrees of disharmony. Although the basic cause of social disorganization is social change, some specific causes are (1) existing social patterns and biological drives, e.g., prostitution is a natural concomitant of monogamy and pre-marital sex taboos; (2) social values such as prestige and honor accorded to men of wealth contribute partly to producing the adult offender; (3) fixity of social institutions; and (4) confusion that results from a variety of definitions of behavior and conduct. Communication, conflict, competition, accommodation, and assimilation are considered the basic social processes both in social organization and disorganization.

Although the authors hold generally that personal and community disorganization are interrelated (pp. 41, 258, 796), they also maintain that the former is not always directly contingent upon the latter (p. 61), and that the two processes are more directly related to each other in a small town than in a large city (p. 840). Their concept of social disorganization is sufficiently broad that they might have included all personal and social problems. For that reason, they would have done well to state more explicitly the criteria that directed their selection of the particular aspects of social disorganization that they feature. In the authors' explanation of delinquency, they do not clearly indicate why cultural conflict is the basic explanation among children of the foreign born (p. 143) when delinquency is increasing among children of the native born (p. 108) who presumably experience less cultural conflict. Although the chapter on "Fascism and War" reveals a very definite bias, the authors display remarkable objectivity in their handling of all other topics. This book will serve as an excellent, authoritative reference work for secondary school teachers while its use as a textbook will probably be confined to college courses.

CLARENCE SCHETTLE

Western Reserve University

YOUTH—MILLIONS TOO MANY?: A SEARCH FOR YOUTH'S PLACE IN AMERICA. By Bruce L. Melvin. New York: Association Press, 1940. Pp. 220. \$2.00.

One more attempt to cause America's citizenry, American office holders and American employers—in fact American democracy—to understand the nature of their responsibility to their young furnishes not only an accurate picture of the youth problems but is very interesting reading.

Melvin starts off with an enumeration of the trends in American life which constitute the principal contributing factors in the present youth situation—the increasing proportion of working population, the diminishing natural resources, the use of technology, urbanization, the concentration of money and power with its consequent emphasis upon profits rather than the common good, and lastly the threat of war.

On the farm are produced more youth than are needed to produce all that can be sold. As a result of scientific methods and the use of machinery fewer are needed today to produce more farm products. They must leave the farm to find a livelihood. In the city they compete with their elders rather unsuccessfully for employment. Labor unions will not admit them in large numbers. The supply of "qualified" labor must be kept down. Many who might obtain admission and a card can not raise the money for fees and dues. Technology here again has created a labor surplus. Unemployed do not provide customers or markets; less production and hence fewer employees are necessary.

The coal mine and the lumber camp no longer can absorb the wanderers from the farm and the city. Oil, gas, and electricity employ fewer workers and have made necessary the production of less coal. The increased use of brick, stone, stucco, and other materials has decreased the market for lumber and lumber employees.

Negro youth find it even more difficult to obtain economic recognition—a chance to partake of the "democracy" and the "American high standard of living" of which he has heard so frequently and which he is supposed to admire and defend. Not only does he find it more difficult, especially in Southern states, to train himself in school, he finds that a very large share of the world's work is not for him—in-

cluding not only almost all the professional and better paid business positions but also the majority of other positions as well.

He finds white youth willing to enter into competition with him for jobs which formerly were thought to be jobs not "suitable" for whites. One place where he is preferred is among the ranks of share-croppers. The comparative ease with which he is cheated and his protests silenced makes him more desirable in the eyes of the landlord who wishes to avoid the difficulties resulting from more articulate white victims.

The schools seem helpless. Teachers and administrators still cling timidly to the academic and even where they are willing to try vocational education, their efforts fall far short. There are too many jobs for which school can not train and too few jobs available for trained youth. As yet the schools have only made a beginning at training a generation which will be informed enough and interested enough to work out the needed social and economic reforms. Most educators see no further than the installation of some "vocational" courses. Youth grows up without the benefit of work experience.

Contrary to expectation, youth is not satisfied with adult-controlled play and recreational activities, or with the radio. The economic limitations they suffer prevent them from participating satisfactorily in the kind of recreation and social life which they have been trained to want, the kind they see adults pursuing, the kind they see in the movies—the kind that cost money they do not have or have a chance to earn.

The CCC and the NYA have done much to alleviate the youth situation. They have furnished employment, board and room, companionship, and opportunity to be of service, a chance to continue in school, a diversion from idleness and slipping into mischief and crime; a chance to learn how to do useful things, opportunities for recreation. Other organizations are making valuable contributions in various directions to diminish the damage to character, personality, and happiness.

Young people themselves are active in developing new youth organizations—the American Youth Congress, Negro Youth Conference, Council of Young Southerners, American Student Union, and a score of others. So far they

have not been very effective in bringing about a better recognition of the interests of the youthful "have nots" by the older "halves."

Melvin does not fail to point out the shortsightedness as well as the injustice of the lack of planning and lack of practical concern for American youth. The dangers to democracy of a large body of youth—disillusioned, cynical—are clear and awesome. How far disinheritance can be extended without breakdown in the form of the cohesion of youth in some enterprise of revolt as happened in Germany no one knows. It is probably not wise to discover by test.

The book is not statistical. It contains many pictures of youth in distress, youth at work, and youth on the mend. The pages are rich in short verbal sketches, incidents, case histories and other descriptive detail. Some aspects of the youth problem are inadequately dealt with—the problems of sex-morality, the problem of health and medical and dental service, and the effects upon marriage and early home life are among those. The brief foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt is merely an indication of her interest and approval.

The small volume should be read by teachers. Social workers will find it interesting. Those who should read it, more than all others, the American businessman, the office holder, and the union labor man, will probably only in a small number of cases look between its covers to see what their duty is.

HARL R. DOUGLASS

University of Colorado

HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES. Unit Studies in American Problems. By Archie W. Troelstrup. Boston: Ginn, 1941. Pp. x, 79. 48¢.

HOUSING AMERICA. Bulletin Number 14. By John H. Haefner and others. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1940. Pp. 80. 50¢.

One of the greatest human needs in the field of social relations—that of providing adequate housing for the masses—is being recognized with marked interest in secondary education. Archie W. Troelstrup's *Housing in the United States* is a unit study that helps to fill the need for basic material in this relatively new field. The author defines the problem, analyzes the

housing resources of low-income groups, shows why home-ownership is difficult for the masses to achieve, and finally indicates what attempts have been made to solve the housing problem. Other minor factors are given consideration; some are buttressed with interesting case studies which help to clarify their meaning. Besides being attractively illustrated, this pamphlet is one of the most challenging studies yet written for high school boys and girls.

On the other hand, some adverse criticism may be given. Occasionally the story becomes heavy with statistical material which may lead to confusion (for example see pages 9 and 28). Then again, a clearer distinction should be made between housing standards for farm and for city dwellings. A farmhouse is not necessarily sub-standard because it lacks modern improvements (see page 9). There is also need to clarify the statement "yet 84 per cent of Harlem's houses were built more than thirty-five years ago" (page 19). One can find many excellent houses exceeding this age that are in fine condition and afford good shelter.

The reviewer can find no evidence to substantiate Mr. Troelstrup's generalization that "The whole [housing] movement may become jeopardized," "if not, indeed, defeated," because the United States Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the decision in the famous Louisville case, which denied the federal government the right of eminent domain for slum-clearance purposes. Quite the contrary has happened. With the passing of the United States Housing Act, the powers of the federal government were restricted to lending money and to making grants. Housing developments, as an integral phase of community planning, were to remain an essential function of local government. Moreover, practically every state enabling act grants to local authorities the right to condemn property, and this right has been upheld universally by the state courts. Enforcing the right of eminent domain, however, is a long and expensive procedure; it is generally used only as a last resort. Local housing authorities have succeeded with the more democratic procedure of securing land parcels through friendly negotiation. This meets the criticism that condemnation proceedings, in the interest of the "public welfare," literally confiscate the investments of homeowners.

Housing America by John H. Haefner and

others, is a source unit prepared for social studies teachers. It is rich in specific suggestions for motivating the problems of housing. It contains practical objectives, basic understandings to be developed, a pre-test, a summarized statement of essential information with graphic illustrations, interesting teaching aids, and suggestions for evaluating outcomes. Prepared under the direction of the National Council for the Social Studies, this bulletin makes a valuable contribution to the field of contemporary problems.

The pamphlets just reviewed contain enough complete material to aid teachers and pupils in pursuing effectively a dynamic modern problem. Progressive teachers welcome the development of new materials related to conditions which vitally touch the lives of their students.

JOSEPH C. BAUMGARTNER

Lincoln High School
Cleveland

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PROPAGANDA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1763-1783. By Philip Davidson. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xvi, 460. \$4.00.

Ever since the last war psychologists and historians have been particularly conscious of the role of propaganda in building martial habits. In reinterpreting earlier episodes in our history, recent students have been paying especial attention to the programs of leaders who deliberately used familiar agencies—press, pulpit, platform—to rally the forces behind them.

Over forty years ago Moses Coit Tyler went over similar ground in his *Literary History of the American Revolution*, but Professor Davidson and others who have turned their attention to this theme have noted more than did Tyler the propagandist intent of many of the productions written during the fourteen years of the "war of the quill," 1761-1775. Professor Davidson also goes into much greater detail on the machinery of propaganda, notably through the schools and newspapers. Both these chapters (V and XIII) are worthy of expansion. Far more than other works the present one emphasizes the spread of propaganda in the Southern colonies.

The section of Whig propaganda to 1776 (the remaining two are the Tory counter-

attack and patriot propaganda 1776-1783) is necessarily the longest: the materials are fuller on the Whigs and their success was the greater. Their success is to be measured by the fact that they gradually won over to the militant side a large wavering group to make up the Revolutionary element in American society. As the author rightly points out, the Whigs were substantially in control of the legal agencies of government which they then used to "undermine British authority in the colonies, not to maintain it." Familiar and unfamiliar names appear in the lengthy roll of propagandists—Sam Adams, most skillful of all, Otis, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, William Livingston of New York and New Jersey, Tom Paine, John Dickinson, the Lees of Virginia. Allied with these dignified and sometimes conservative gentlemen were mob leaders (not always of the working class themselves) whose services were indispensable in rousing the masses to action—William Molineux and Ebenezer Mackintosh in Boston, Lamb, McDougall, and Sears in New York, and Gadsden in South Carolina. The Tory propagandists, limited in number and in opportunities, nevertheless did

very well. The majority of the Whig propagandists came from the group which controlled the internal economic and political affairs of the colonies. Adopting exceedingly shrewd tactics they maintained themselves in authority by first combining with the British officials against the lower classes, and then when they needed the latter combined with them to oust the British.

It is a very instructive narrative as Professor Davidson has told it, and there is not much of relevance that has been omitted. He has touched on propaganda abroad but this is a subject worthy of a volume in itself. He has used a very wide variety of sources and few important items appear to be missing: perhaps the most notable omission is the paper by E. D. Collins on the Committees of Correspondence in the American Historical Association Reports, 1901. This volume is a significant addition to the list of monographs that have explored the molding of public opinion and thus the shape of things that have gone is revealed in sharper silhouette.

MICHAEL KRAUS

The City College, New York

? *Have you seen these three*

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By Bining and Bining. New Ed. The present revision of this successful text is planned to help prospective teachers of the social studies and teachers in service to acquire a broader and deeper knowledge of teaching in this field. Provides a background against which teachers may evaluate their work in the light of recent, better educational aims and objectives. Emphasis is on the importance of training pupils to become intelligent citizens. \$2.75.

LANDS OF NEW WORLD NEIGHBORS

By Hans Christian Adamson. Paralleling the 1941-42 broadcasts of the CBS *New Horizons* programs of the School of the Air of the Americas, this book contains a wealth of historical background material highlighting the lives and deeds of the men who brought civilization to the western world. Educational edition, \$2.75.

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CITIZENS AT WORK: A TEXTBOOK IN ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP. By Jeremiah S. Young, Edwin M. Barton and Lysle E. Johnston. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1940. Pp. xx, 402. \$1.32.

This textbook in economic citizenship, while written specifically for that course in New York State, is offered by the publishers as a text useful to all schools which emphasize the economic and vocational aspects of civic life through courses given in grades eight, nine or ten. The volume is not to be confused with the text *Growing in Citizenship* by Young and Barton, published by the same company but covering a wider range of material appropriate for courses of the same grades in community civics.

Citizens at Work approaches its task by picturing first, man's economic progress from its earliest beginnings to the present industrial age, then our world of work and the individual's place in it, and finally such phases of personal economics as wisdom in buying, spending, and saving.

The book is quite up-to-date and is positive and objective in its viewpoint. Yet its authors have not neglected ethical aspects and ideals of our economic world, and throughout their book stress social values as the standards by which the individual should evaluate his own economic adjustment. Underlying principles are included frequently and stated simply in this text and the chapters in which historical backgrounds are featured are especially replete with facts suited for the construction of pupil-made generalizations. The writing is predominantly narrative in form, but not too much so as to prevent the careful statement and development of definitions by the authors.

The volume is set up in good print but with illustrations that, save for a few pictographs, are only fair. The style is quite direct and is hardly rich or full enough to contribute much to the development in the pupil of those attitudes which seem to dominate the thinking of the authors. Nor does it impress the reviewer as being particularly appropriate for such young readers as those for which the book is intended. The teacher must assume a large part of the responsibility for developing some of the concepts in this volume with ninth-grade pupils of limited experience and ability. On the other hand, ease of reading

is promoted by short paragraphs and well-defined topical arrangement within the chapters, even though transitional sentences and ideas are not always as much in evidence as one might desire. The inspirational quotation and statement of aims which precede each chapter may be used to advantage in approaching the many phases of economic citizenship treated in this book.

Among the learning and teaching aids in *Citizens at Work*, the "problem quotations" command the most interest. These are short supplementary readings selected from a variety of sources, and are intended when read and discussed in the light of accompanying questions to bring the topic at hand "into the real life experience of the pupil." Some of these readings may do just this, but, contrary to their caption, they do not raise any research or social problems which would motivate the pupil toward a continuing interest in the topic. Responsibility for this outcome is assigned to those aids called "Suggestions for Further Study," and preceding these at the end of each chapter is the time-honored list of questions based directly on the material in the text. Perhaps the most notable of the study aids are the excellent reference lists for each chapter, including those on the various occupational fields. Entries are made in a useful form and include special publications as well as the more standard references selected from the fields of economics, government, vocations, history, and general social studies.

K. B. THURSTON

University School
Indiana University

INTEGRATED HANDWORK FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. By Louis V. Newkirk. New York: Silver Burdett, 1940. Pp. viii, 342. \$3.20.

Many otherwise sane and happy teachers have been driven to the brink of maniacal depression when faced with the task of enriching their social studies teaching with meaningful manual activities. The recent resurgence of the activity program has accentuated this difficulty. Even those who are skilled in industrial arts and who enjoy working with tools are all too often faced with the problems of finding suitable projects for their classes. All too often the result is a type of boondoggling superimposed by the administration.

Professor Horn has well pointed out that such activities too often become ends in themselves rather than a means to the understanding of some important aspect of life; furthermore they are frequently not subjected to critical thought and consequently are thoroughly unauthentic. Thus they waste time and result in gross misconceptions. (Ernest Horn, *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*. New York: Scribners, 1947, p. 434.)

To the teacher who has become discouraged with construction activities of the sort described above and who is desirous of directing activities such as Horn and others feel to be extremely valuable in the social studies, *Integrated Handwork for Elementary Schools* is highly recommended. The author looks upon handwork not as a special subject, but as an integral part of teaching procedures in all elementary school subjects. So conceived handwork becomes a means toward an end and not an end in itself. To the social studies teacher that end is a more vital understanding of the topic at hand.

The volume under consideration is divided into two main parts. Part One defines handwork; shows its relation to industrial arts, fine arts, social studies, English, science, arithmetic, and reading; and suggests equipment and proper school facilities for handwork techniques. Part Two explains and illustrates methods of doing the more common types of handwork. These methods have been tried in many classrooms and many ordinary difficulties are foreseen and directions are given for surmounting them.

Of special interest to the social studies teacher are chapter eleven on "Maps and Charts" and chapter twelve on "Dioramas and Panoramas." Under maps complete directions are given for making neighborhood maps, outline maps, relief maps, and charts. In each instance the best type of material is suggested for each purpose and complete directions are given. In addition sample illustrations are given and plans for making maps and charts are clarified with line drawings. It is to be regretted that this chapter is not more fully

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By H. E. Dewey

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The chapter on "Dioramas and Panoramas" is a gem. Layout plans are completely and practically developed. Suggestions for display frames and cases; backgrounds, foreground scenes, roads, paths, and sidewalks; fences, grass, flowers, buildings, and figures are specifically given even to the most satisfactory dimensions, materials and working methods. This chapter is exceptionally well illustrated and is guaranteed to stimulate the most sated teacher's appetite for constructional work.

Although this handbook is labeled for the elementary school there are many ideas in it which are applicable to the high school, and it is more than likely that the teacher himself may find hobby material in its pages. This is especially true if said teacher is a camera fan who delights in table top photography.

WILLIAM H. HARTLEY

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